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REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

CONGRESS managed to effect an adjournment on Tuesday, nothing but the persistence of the Republicans of the Senate in standing out for a vote on the Tax bill having prevented an adjournment on the previous Friday. This bill, as it came from the House, was an admirable one, and would have passed without much opposition, had it been left as it was. But Mr. SHERMAN grows every month more nervous over the unfavorable comments furnished by our financial situation on the funding policy he adopted while in charge of the Treasury. He locked up the debt in long-time bonds, which can be bought in the market only at a premium, as high as 30 per cent. in some cases. He thus placed the debt beyond the reach of the government for redemption, and rendered the existence of a great surplus an embarrassment instead of an advantage. To get rid of the surplus before all the accessible (or WINDOM) bonds are paid off, is now a personal point with Mr. SHERMAN. Not content with the reduction of internal revenue proposed by the House bill, he proposed large and ill-considered reductions in the Tariff, and to this demand Mr. MORRILL very unwisely yielded, accepting amendments to the bill which materially changed its character and excited the opposition of the Democrats. When it was too late, Mr. MORRILL saw his mistake, and offered to report the bill as it came from the House. To this offer the Democrats offered a prompt refusal. They had found an effective way of annoying their adversaries, and they would not abandon it. So at last the bill went over till December, and Congress adjourned without effecting any reduction of the burden of taxation.

THE session has been more fruitful in wise legislation than Congress will get credit for, because the magnitude of some of its sins of omission and of commission obscures its good deeds. It created a Commission for the revision of the Tariff. It reorganized on a wise footing the naval and military services. It put a stop to the importation of Coolie labor from China. It passed a vigorous and not unjust measure for the repression of polygamy among the Mormons. It enacted good laws to regulate immigration, to secure inspection of foreign vessels carrying passengers from our ports, and to relieve American ships from excessive tonnage duties. It created a joint committee to inquire into the causes of our decline in mercantile marine. It appropriated a large sum for the care of the Mississippi River. It effected a reapportionment among the States of membership in the House, on a basis which commanded a large support from the minority. It rechartered the National Banks, and enacted a funding measure which reduces the interest on a large amount of the WINDOM bonds, without putting them out of reach for redemption. These are but a few of the more important of the two hundred and fifty-one public bills passed at this session, and certainly the list compares favorably with the work of the recent Congresses, in which the Democrats had control of the House. It compares still more favorably with the amount of legislation passed at the present session of the British Imperial Parliament.

CONGRESS'S sins of omission, however, are exceedingly numerous and weighty. One is the failure to pass any bill for the reduction of internal taxation. Another is the omission to pass Judge LOWELL'S bankruptcy bill, or some equally good measure. Another concerns Alaska. So far as we see in the reports, nothing was done for this territory. Another is the Post Office Savings Bank bill. Another is the Reagan Bill to regulate commerce between the States. Another is the Japanese Indemnity bill, on which the two houses failed to agree. Another is the Senate's bill to create intermediate courts of appeal, for the relief of the Supreme Court of the United States. Another is the provision for a Congressional Library. Another is the stoppage of sil-

ver coinage. Another is the Senate bill to regulate the electoral count. Another is the forfeiture of lands granted to railroads on conditions which have not been complied with. Another is Mr. LOGAN'S bill for an appropriation for the extermination of illiteracy. Another is the regulation of appointments and removals in the Civil Service in the interest of reform.

The first and chief of the sins of commission is the passage of the River and Harbor appropriation bill over the veto, in defiance of the public opinion of the country. A Boston contemporary remarks: "It is possible that some person outside of Congress, whose opinion is entitled to respect, has maintained that it was a proper bill; but if so, he has said it very quietly and nobody has heard the utterance. So, also, it is possible that some reputable newspaper in the country has defended it; but if so, the fact has escaped our attention." Now that honorable gentlemen are finding their way back to their constituencies, they begin to learn that the measure has excited a degree of adverse feeling of which they had had no premonition. At least one member of the House already has lost a renomination because of his vote for it; and the Massachusetts delegation, of which only two voted with the minority, have been put upon their defence for supporting it. Mr. HOAR has lost valuable political support because of his siding with the majority, and is about to publish a letter in defence of his conduct.

Fully as bad in itself, but much less likely to excite adverse public feeling, was the enormous Pensions appropriation bill. The amount of public money voted away by this bill was six times as great as that given in the River and Harbor bill. At least as much of the money will be wasted in the one case as in the other. Yet in this case the bill passed without debate, and without even a fraction of the criticism which assailed the smaller measure. Where lies the blame for the remissness in this case?

AMONG the last measures which passed Congress was a joint resolution for a joint-committee of three Senators and six Representatives to inquire into the decline of our mercantile marine. In this case the Free Traders have a fair representation on the committee, as they should have had on the Commission for the revision of the Tariff. But we do not look for any report to the effect that our decline can be corrected by throwing open our registration to foreign-built ships.

We see in the *Evening Post* a statement that every recent measure proposed for the opening of our registry to such ships has contained a provision expressly excluding them from the coasting trade. This corrects a suspicion to which we gave utterance a few weeks ago, and also a recent statement of Mr. BLAINE. But we should like to know on what grounds, consistent with Free Trade principles, the coasting trade should be confined to vessels of American build?

Two other measures which passed in the last hours of the session, tend to remove unhappy discriminations against American vessels from the statute book. One of these provides that, in estimating tonnage dues, the same allowance shall be made as in England for the space occupied by the boilers and machinery of steamships. The other subjects to American inspection vessels of foreign build or registration which carry passengers from our ports. It is notorious that in some cases the most worthless hulks have been employed in carrying passengers from New York to points in the West Indies and in South America, and ships condemned as unfit for such work in other parts of the world are still legally competent for it here, through the absence of any inspection whatever. This is one of the things which have put our own ships at a serious disadvantage.

THE Senate passed the Knit-Goods bill as it came from the House, although a serious clerical blunder had been made in specifying the

section of the Revised Statutes whose correction was intended. The lawyers in the Senate took the ground that the evident intention of the measure rendered the inaccuracy a matter of no consequence. But the Treasury officials show a remarkable preference for the letter above the spirit of the law in some cases, and even the national judiciary is not free from it. The decision which made it necessary to pass this bill is a case in point.

THE rule of "Senatorial courtesy," as now interpreted, is to the effect that New York appointments which please the senior Senator from Pennsylvania shall pass without question. It was to the efforts of Mr. CAMERON that the Post Office department owed the confirmation of the new postmaster at Penn Yan. And now, the same gentleman secures the confirmation of Mr. JOHN A. LUBY, a Stalwart politician, as head of the Albany Custom House, in spite of the opposition of Senators MILLER and LAPHAM. Curiously enough, our own State is not the least bit gratified or flattered by this evident deference to her representative in the Senate. But she would have been so if Mr. CAMERON himself had been the President's nominee to that or any other Custom House.

MR. ARTHUR nominated Mr. W. W. ASTOR, of New York, to the Italian mission vacated by Mr. MARSH's death, and the Senate has confirmed him. Mr. ASTOR, according to Mr. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, is a good fellow, with a nice taste for works of art, and of fine social manners. We have not the slightest doubt of his capacity to shine in the circles of Roman society, and to make a display of costly tastes, which was quite impossible to Mr. MARSH. But, after all, the representatives of such a country as America should be selected with some little reference to the public interests, and we see nothing in Mr. ASTOR's record to lead us to regard him as likely to serve his country in any effective manner. Putting mere politicians into foreign missions is bad enough; filling them with "society people" is not a bit better. The sending to Europe of men like MOTLEY, BANCROFT, TAYLOR, MARSH and LOWELL has its advantages. They are not exactly diplomats, but they represent the brains of the country, and keep up the national credit. But everybody knows that the intellectual energies of the ASTORS have been absorbed in the acquisition and retention of a great estate; and Mr. W. W. ASTOR's brief career at Albany, and his contest with Mr. FLOWER for the filling of Mr. MORTON's vacancy in the Fourth New York District, have not been of a character to raise him in the public estimate, as a man of either intellectual or moral force.

MR. ARTHUR has selected Mr. TRESCOTT and General GRANT as Commissioners to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Mexico, and the Senate has confirmed the nominations. Why should we need such a treaty with Mexico? Why cannot each country settle its commercial relations with foreign countries indifferently, by means of its own municipal enactments? Certainly, it is not in the interest of peace and amity that we should enter upon negotiations of this kind. Nothing is so sure to provoke international quarrels as a treaty of commerce. Nor can the two countries by this means enter into any closer relations with each other than with the rest of the world. Each is restrained by existing treaties with foreign powers, every one of which contains a "most favored nation" clause. Whatever we concede to Mexico, we thereby concede to all Europe. Whatever Mexico concedes to us, she must concede to every European power with which she has a treaty. Commercial treaties are remnants of a by-gone age, and they will yet be as obsolete as the heraldic forms of mediæval diplomacy.

If we are to have a treaty, Mr. TRESCOTT is all but indispensable to its negotiation. But the appointment of General GRANT as his associate is quite another matter. The ex-President has very important investments in Mexico. This fact is beneficial to both countries, as it helps to keep our sister Republic before our minds. But a gentleman so circumstanced is not exactly the man to negotiate a treaty meant to cover all American interests in Mexico impartially. He would have to be a man of very judicial character to avoid feeling that the line of his own interests was the most important of any, and the one most entitled to protection. But General GRANT's warmest admirers hardly will claim for him a large share of the judicial temperament.

IN another column will be found a letter from a Japanese gentleman, a resident of this city, in regard to the treaty with Corea. Mr. SHIBA takes issue with the description of that treaty, which we based upon the meagre account which our State Department saw fit to give the country. He shows from the testimony of the Japanese papers, which have the whole document before them, that the treaty is highly objectionable on two grounds. The first is that, instead of recognizing the independence of Corea—as the Washington despatches said,—it declares that country a dependency of China, and puts the United States in the undignified position of exchanging ambassadors with a dependency. The second is that, instead of recognizing the autonomy of Corea in the matter of regulating her own commerce, it furnishes an opening for the kind of foreign dictation in the matter of duties or imposts, such as has proved so disastrous to Japan. Should Corea negotiate with England a treaty after this model, she would find herself in a very bad plight. Assuming the accuracy of Mr. SHIBA's account—which we see no reason to doubt—we are forced to the conclusion that Commodore SHUFELDT's abortive treaty should not even be laid before the Senate for approval. We further protest against the policy which keeps documents of this importance from the public until criticism of them has become useless.

THE defendants in the Star Route case rested their defence on Monday, to the general surprise. The evidence adduced in rebuttal of that presented by the government was quite insignificant, the only really important witness being Mr. VAILE, one of the defendants, and evidently the one who knew the least of what was going on. Early in the case, it was threatened that Mr. BRADY and Mr. RERDELL would take the stand. But the severe handling which their Mr. A. C. BUELL received in his cross-examination seems to have deterred these worthies from coming forward as witnesses. Had they done so, Mr. MERRICK would probably have helped them to remember a great deal more than was wholesome for their case.

It is very evident that, since the case was fairly under way, the prosecution has been conducted with all the energy and faithfulness which the country had a right to expect of the Department of Justice. If there should be any failure to secure a verdict, the responsibility will not rest on Mr. BREWSTER.

AN advance report upon the foreign commerce of the United States, for the fiscal year ended June 30, has been prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, presented to Secretary FOLGER, and published. It shows that the total business of the year, outward and inward, including specie as well as merchandise, was \$1,566,859,456, as against \$1,675,024,318, for the year preceding. In this decrease of 109 millions is written the story of our diminished exports of cotton, breadstuffs and provisions, though unfortunately the showing is not all there. The loss in exports of merchandise was really much greater, it being over 152 millions (\$152,026,173), while the imports increased upon us nearly 82 millions (\$81,958,689). After all, the balance of trade did not quite turn against us; our exports of the year (merchandise only) were \$750,351,173, while our imports were \$724,623,317, and so there remained a balance in our favor in the year's operations, in spite of bad crops, neglect to hold our foreign markets, and enormous purchases abroad, of nearly 25¾ millions (\$25,727,856). But it was a tremendous revulsion from the showing of the previous year. For the year ending June 30, 1881, the balance in our favor (merchandise account) was 259¾ millions (\$259,712,718), so that the decrease of our advantage was 234 millions of dollars. The whole history of our foreign commerce shows no such sudden change as this.

WHY were the purchases abroad so great? They were the largest ever known. For the year that ended June 30, 1873, when the country was on the flood-tide of free buying, full of bubble confidence, and unconscious of what was impending in September, the imports were 642 millions, and in the year ending June 30, 1880, they had risen to 668 millions, but the latter were the largest in the country's experience until last year's report. Still, in spite of their increase, and in spite of our sad falling-off of exports, the year, as we have already said, showed 25¾ millions in our favor. This, therefore, kept it in the rank of the years since 1876 inclusive. Beginning, then, with nearly 80 millions

in our favor, all since have kept the account with the balance on the same side. Altogether, the merchandise balances of the seven years, 1876-1882, aggregate over 1206 millions. In the period of twenty-three years, from 1860 to 1882 inclusive, nine years,—the seven just referred to, and 1862 and 1874,—showed balances in our favor, while the other thirteen were all against us. The aggregate of our nine years is \$1,226,586,483, while the aggregate of the thirteen on the other side is \$1,195,800,083, showing that our great surpluses, with our moderate purchases, have more than balanced the account of the twenty-three years. But our imports, if they continue so great, will cancel all the probable increase of our exports. For the fiscal year 1878, the balance in our favor was nearly 258 millions of dollars, but we imported that year only 437 millions' worth, or 287 millions less than for the year just closed!

THE report does not show the values of the whole year's exports, severally. Those figures were complete, when the report was prepared, only to May 31, the month of June not being made up. But the eleven months showed where our troubles lay, in the matter of exports. In breadstuffs, comparing the eleven months with the corresponding time of the previous year, the falling off was \$76,350,073; in provisions the loss was \$29,284,093; and in cotton it was \$47,889,370; the three items making a total of over 153 millions, or a little more than the total decrease of the export showing.

Why it was that these three great products fell off is exhibited in the figures of the Agricultural Bureau. The cotton crop of 1881 was 1,200,000 bales less than that of 1880; the wheat crop was 118¼ millions bushels less, and the corn crop was 522½ millions bushels less. In cotton the decrease was 18.2 per cent., in wheat 23.7 per cent., and in corn 30.4. These were the short yields under the drouth and other unfavorable conditions of last year. We shall do better this season.

ALL the indications point to an abundant harvest. Michigan is the only State which sends adverse reports, the recent rains in that State having been so much in excess of what was needed as to injure the later wheat harvest. The corn crop, which was languishing for want of rain, has been revived by showers in all quarters, and, instead of an excessively dry summer, like that of 1881, we are likely to have one in which the downfall will be rather in excess.

The figures of gross yields in bushels for recent years are as follows, those for 1882 being estimated:—

	Wheat.	Corn.
1879,	445,000,000	1,518,000,000
1880,	499,000,000	1,717,000,000
1881,	380,000,000	1,195,000,000
1882,	533,000,000	1,500,000,000

This therefore is likely to be the year of greatest yield on record, the oat-crop and other lesser crops being equally great, and the fruit crop such as surpasses all recent experience. And while the later news from Europe, and even from France and England, indicates a better harvest than was feared, yet the season altogether has not been favorable, and our grain is certain to be in demand in those two countries. But the amount we shall have for export will not be proportional to the extent of the crop. A very large amount will be required to replace the farmers' reserves, which seldom have been more exhausted than they are at present. A still larger amount will be fed to young stock. During the dry summers of 1880 and 1881, the number of foals and calves raised in America was proportionately very small, and the consequence has been a great scarcity of both young horses and young cows. To meet this demand a great number have been provided in the present year. The farmer knows that this is the most profitable investment he can make with his corn, and the present prices of both horses and neat cattle are leading to great investments in stock-raising.

In a letter somewhat out of the usual and conventional order, Senator STEWART, the Independent candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, has invited General BEAVER, the candidate on Mr. CAMERON's ticket, to a discussion of the issues which they respectively represent. We present here the text of the invitation:

With a view to secure united Republican action at the approaching election, I joined in a communication several weeks ago, addressed to yourself and your colleagues up-

on the ticket nominated by the Harrisburg Convention, proposing the voluntary withdrawal of all candidates and a new convention under the new rules.

No reply has been received from the parties addressed, and, from your continued silence, I assume that none is contemplated and that our proposition is not entertained. I accept it, therefore, as your determination to assert your candidacy, regardless of all results. Such a course on your part necessarily imperils Republican success and can be justified only by the gravest public considerations. Doubtless you believe these to exist and are willing to submit them to public discussion. Being myself a Republican candidate for the same high office to which you have been nominated, and feeling justified in asserting my candidacy, our appeal must be to the enlightened judgment of the people. That each may have the fullest opportunity to vindicate his own political action and the cause he represents, I beg to propose a joint discussion with you of our political differences, at such places and times and under such regulations as may be agreed upon by the chairmen of the respective committees.

Mr. STEWART's communication indicates substantially the present position of the Pennsylvania campaign. The Independent movement is proceeding straightforwardly, and will show, from this out, a greater degree of energy. Whether General BEAVER agrees to a joint discussion or not, the issues will be fully presented by Mr. STEWART and others to the people of the State—and not merely those that distinguish the Independent Republicans from those who follow Mr. CAMERON, but the issues that divide Republicanism from Democracy. Mr. STEWART, we presume, will also invite Mr. PATTISON to join him in the general discussion of the campaign.

POLITICS in New York State are by no means so simple as in our own happy Commonwealth. There is a great deal of external "harmony" in the Republican party, it is true; but the divisions are as profound as in Pennsylvania, and the prospect that they may prove equally disastrous at the polls is by no means remote. Now that Mr. ARTHUR has acquired possession of Collector ROBERTSON, the policy of filling all offices with a view to strengthening the Stalwart wing of the party, is pursued vigorously. To what it will lead in the way of nominations for State offices, no one can tell as yet. But it is notable that the Republican party in New York is much more sensitive to frowns and favors from the White House than is that of Pennsylvania. When it was found that Mr. CONKLING could not do everything with Mr. GARFIELD, there was a remarkable reaction against Stalwartism in Albany; while the Stalwarts of Pennsylvania went right on in the face of the snubs they were getting, without minding them in the least. Again, since the change to a Stalwart President, the Independents of Pennsylvania have given Mr. ARTHUR reason to fear that no blandishments from the Administration will move one of them to the support of Mr. CAMERON and his ticket; while in New York the changes to the Stalwart side are very noticeable. We suppose that human nature is much the same in both States; but the New York Republicans seem to lack good leaders.

IN the Democratic party of New York, the divisions are more open, although confined mainly to the city. Mr. JOHN KELLY represents the old TWEED element, which once dominated our chief municipality. To conciliate and to antagonize him seem equally fatal to party success. The latter is unquestionably the more honorable course, and it is the one which the party has pursued for several years past. If it be stuck to, it will result in his overthrow. The people who support him will not maintain their allegiance to a leader who has nothing to give. His last defeat lost him many followers; his next will break up his ragged regiment. Unfortunately, a certain class of Republicans do their best to give vitality to Mr. KELLY's faction, for the sake of party advantage. Hence the dickering for municipal office, and the bargains for votes in the Legislature. The recent meeting of the State Committee makes it evident that only the County Democracy will be recognized in the coming State Convention; and if a wise care is used in making up the ticket, the end of Mr. KELLY's career as a political leader cannot be distant.

IN Maine, the struggle between the Republicans and the Democratic-Greenback fusion promises to be a very vigorous one, with heavy odds in favor of the former. Governor PLAISTED, the Fusion candidate for reelection, is an astute politician. Formerly, he was Mr. SOLON CHASE's principal associate in the leadership of the Greenback party, but they parted company in 1880, when it was proposed to form a Fusion electoral ticket for the Presidency. Mr. CHASE had gone so far as to sanction a fusion for State offices, in the sense of allowing the

Democrats to vote for Mr. PLAISTED; but as an old Republican with a hearty distrust and dislike of the Democratic party, he loathed any such arrangement as was proposed. He with some four or five thousand Greenbackers voted for a straight ticket, and thus gave Mr. GARFIELD the electoral vote of Maine a few months after Mr. PLAISTED's election.

Every means has been used to bring Mr. CHASE back to the support of the Fusion ticket this year; but the old man utterly refuses. It was thought quite an achievement to deprive him of his organ, the *Messenger*, which was bought up by those of the party which inclined to the Fusion; but he at once started a new paper with four or five thousand circulation. More recently, the proprietors of the *Messenger*, after much deliberation, have concluded to abandon their new allies and support a straight Greenback ticket. All the indications are that Mr. SOLON CHASE will control a greater vote than in November, 1880, and that Governor PLAISTED will fail of reelection.

The Republicans seem to be substantially united. There is nothing in the talk of an Independent Republican movement, and no prospect of any other ticket in the State than the three we have indicated. The Temperance party are pleased with the firm stand taken by the Republicans in regard to Prohibition, and there is no other issue strong enough in popular feeling to cause a division.

We cannot, however, regard the attitude of the Republican party in Maine as satisfactory, and we see reason to fear dissension in a not distant future, unless the leaders keep step a little quicker to the march of public opinion. The platform is absolutely silent as to the need of Civil Service Reform; and Mr. BLAINE preserves the same silence in a very vigorous letter to the voters of the State, which he has issued as a substitute for addressing them on the issues of this election.

FUSION seems to be the order of the day in the Southern States, but the Republicans of Georgia, although badly in the minority, have not been able to fuse their own factions into one organization. The quarrel is between a body of white office-holders, led by General LONGSTREET, and the rank and file of the colored voters. It is an unhappy display of the motives which too much control Southern Republicanism, for this division in the presence of the enemy was due to the quarrel between those who have the offices and those who want them. The most notable thing done was the endorsement of Mr. CANTRELL, the Independent Democratic candidate for the governorship.

THE Prohibition wing of the Temperance party in Ohio has put forward a ticket for the State offices, and the Republicans are asking with some anxiety how many votes it will secure. They also charge the Prohibitionists with ingratitude in thus deserting them in the heat of their battle with the liquor interest. But those who regard Prohibition as the only permissible policy, cannot give any more support to the Republican proposal to reestablish license than to the Democratic proposal for free trade in whiskey and beer.

In Tennessee the Temperance party has endorsed the ticket of the State Credit wing of the Democratic party, and it is expected that their adhesion will strengthen that party materially.

It was announced by Lord SALISBURY's friends that they meant to stand by their amendments to the Irish Arrears bill. Certainly, Mr. GLADSTONE offered them no way of escape from the position they had taken. He got the House of Commons to reject summarily their proposal to give the landlord a veto upon his tenant's right to take the benefit of the act. And he accepted the proposal to make the remitted arrears a lien in case the holding were sold, but confined this to sales within seven years. Yet we find the Peers abandoning their amendments, and passing the bill as the Commons sent it back to them.

Partly, no doubt, this acquiescence is due to the fear that Mr. GLADSTONE, if they refused, would pass a bill for the reform of the county suffrage and then dissolve the Parliament. A measure to extend household suffrage to the counties, would put the Tories into a dilemma. They could not accept it without abandoning to the Liberals many of the county constituencies, in which they at present are strongly entrenched. When Mr. ARCH's constituents of the laboring class vote, they hardly will elect

Tory or even Whig members. On the other hand, they could not reject such a bill without giving Mr. GLADSTONE and his friends a much better issue on which to dissolve Parliament than that furnished by the Arrears Bill. It was the Tories, under Mr. DISRAELI's lead, who introduced household suffrage into the English and Scotch boroughs. With what face could they refuse to vote its extension to the counties?

BUT any proposal to reform the English and Scotch county franchise would have been met by demands from Mr. PARNELL and his followers, which must have proved not less embarrassing to the Liberals. They would have demanded the extension of household suffrage to both the boroughs and the counties of Ireland. At present, a large number of Irish constituencies are controlled by the Protestant minority, under laws which prescribe a property qualification. The same is true of several county constituencies in Ulster. Thus the Liberals carried Tyrone in the face of Mr. PARNELL's determined struggle to elect Mr. KYNETT, but—as the more candid Liberals admitted—only because the great body of the people of that county have no vote. Were household suffrage the law in Ireland, Mr. PARNELL would secure, not the seventy members conceded to him at the next election, but perhaps ninety or ninety-five of the hundred and five Ireland sends to Parliament. Whenever the ministry proposes household suffrage for the English counties, but not for Ireland, the Land League party will be justified in using every means in their power to force the inclusion of Ireland in the new measure of reform. And in this they will have the support of such Tories as Lord CHURCHILL, who welcomes any cry that may embarrass Mr. GLADSTONE.

THE strike of the Irish constabulary is a much more serious affair than the English papers are willing to admit. Since the force was organized, sixty years ago, in the face of Orange opposition, it has been thoroughly effective. As a detective body it has not succeeded, and could not be expected to succeed. There is nothing in its training and discipline which tends to fit it for such work. But in the suppression of disorder, in carrying out evictions, and in protecting the lives of persons who had been threatened, it has done a vast deal of unpleasant and unpopular work, for which it has been but poorly paid. Very recently, there was a promise of increased pay, which was "kept to the ear and broken to the hope." At last, the force made up its mind that it had had enough of hard and dirty work for poor reward, and now it threatens wholesale resignation unless its demands are granted. The members of the force are free to resign if they so please. They are not soldiers, and the Mutiny Act does not apply to them. It is true that some of them, who have been long in the service, would forfeit their rights to a pension, and were it merely a matter of money, these might hesitate. But it is much more than this. Every man on the force knows that he has been engaged in a hard and unpopular service, without receiving any consideration from his superiors. They have had nothing but blame for their failures to find who committed agrarian murders, and they have reasons to think the blame was undeserved. They are angry with the government, the magistrates, the newspapers, and perhaps just a little angry with themselves, for remaining in a position which forces them to aid in the gross cruelty of evictions, and to wage war on feelings universally shared by their countrymen. Nothing but this can account for the general outburst from the constabulary in all quarters of Ireland, and their refusal to withdraw their demands, although assured that nothing would be done for them until they were withdrawn.

That the Government could replace them, in case of a general withdrawal, is by no means true. In a country so destitute of industry, a place on the police always has been a desirable one, and there always have been more applicants than could be accepted. But it would not be safe, in the present condition of Ireland, to draft a great body of green and undisciplined recruits into the service.

THE Dublin Exhibition of Irish Manufactures is to be held after all, although not to be graced with the presence of any royal prince. The proposal to have it opened by some member of the royal family was voted down in one of the preliminary meetings. As a consequence, the Dublin shop-keepers and other respectables dependent on the Castle, withdrew from the undertaking, and will not favor it with their

presence and their shillings. The Lord Mayor, Mr. GRAY, will officiate, and the Land League party will give it what support they can. It has leaked out that the authorities fear lest it should be made the occasion for a great reunion of Nationalists and other dangerous characters. A confidential circular was sent out from the Castle directing the police to make note of those who proposed to come up to the exhibition, and to report if there were any dangerous or suspected characters among them.

That the display of modern Irish manufactures will be a splendid one, we see no reason to expect. The usefulness of the Exhibition will be largely in calling attention to the meagreness of Irish industry in this essential matter, and in impressing upon the leaders the need of something more than peasant proprietorship for the restoration of Irish prosperity. In this respect, the Exhibition may mark a new era for the country, and lead to a more important agitation than that begun by Mr. PARNELL and Mr. DAVITT. It is a good sign that this side of the Irish situation attracts more notice, that HEALY HUTCHINSON's "Commercial Restraints of Ireland" has been reprinted in Dublin, and that the younger DILLON has published a scathing examination of English political economy in theory and in practice, advocating the protection of Irish manufactures.

FRANCE at last has a make-shift Ministry, with excellent M. DUCLERC at its head, making believe to govern while giving pledges not to have any policy. The French Constitution, combining an elective executive with a responsible ministry, is an unhappy compromise between English and American methods, without the advantages of either. It furnishes a warning against the proposal to introduce ministerial responsibility into our American system.

OF the Egyptian imbroglio we have spoken elsewhere at some length. The opinions we there express are not in the least modified by Mr. GLADSTONE's declaration, made on Wednesday, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, that England has "no secret intention to conceal from other nations." That and all the other generalities of the speech are quite reconcilable with a purpose to pursue a waiting policy, and to be ready for any measure—not excepting annexation or the reduction of Egypt to the footing of a "protected State" in India,—which may be thought necessary for the maintenance of the Canal. That Mr. GLADSTONE prefers annexation to a milder policy, we do not believe. That his first false step will have consequences which land him in annexation and in the suppression of all national aspirations in Egypt, is what we fear. We find his speech singularly barren of expressions which would have committed him to the maintenance of the autonomy of the Egyptians.

THE European Conference, in session at Constantinople, is far from being in that harmony with English wishes which we have been assured was secured. In the first place, they insist on the sharp distinction between the Suez Canal and Egypt. The former only they regard as a proper object for European interference, and they insist that the force employed for its preservation should be furnished, not by one, but by all the great maritime powers. To this England consented, with some reluctance. She does not like the indifference with which her professions of zeal for the authority of the Khedive are treated. Europe says to her, substantially, "Whatever you may do in the way of putting down ARABI Bey, you must do on your own responsibility. We are concerned only for the Canal, and we fail to see the force of the logic which you use to make the two things seem identical."

IN Egypt itself, the military encounters thus far have done nothing to establish the prestige of the English army. Close upon the stampede of the British outpost, comes a reconnaissance in force of ARABI Bey's position, resulting in an English loss in killed and wounded, and in the Egyptians being left in possession of the scene of conflict. The general in command declares that he merely wanted to find where ARABI Bey was, and that having accomplished this object he retreated. This reads like some of the dispatches of our Civil War, written to show that a repulse with loss of life did not amount to anything, as "we now have got the enemy just where we want them." If this English general had no better reason for ordering an advance, he must be regarded as personally responsible for the lives lost on both sides. He could have found

where ARABI was without bringing his men under the fire of the Egyptian guns.

(See News Summary, page 284.)

ENGLAND'S EGYPTIAN DILEMMA.

IT is not without reason that the attention of the civilized world is fixed on Egypt at the present moment, and that the liveliest interest is felt on both sides of the Atlantic in the impending struggle. ARABI Bey and his handful of Egyptian troops, bidding defiance, in the name of national right, to the force of the greatest power on the seas, and holding Cairo in her despite, is of itself a sight quite unexpected, and an evidence of the revival of national aspirations among this oppressed people, which cannot but draw men's thoughts as to the leader of a forlorn hope. But above and beyond the immediate contest, looms the possibility of more serious complications, which may involve not England and Egypt only, but all Europe, in war.

England's position in Egypt is altogether too much like that from which Mr. GLADSTONE withdrew in Afghanistan. In that case, England had to take a very serious risk in withdrawing the British forces from a country which had been irritated, and even enraged, by Lord BEACONSFIELD's pursuit of a scientific frontier. It was feared that no Amir could keep his hold on the Afghans if he were regarded as a friend of England, and that nothing but a continued occupation of the country could prevent its close alliance with the power which wishes to use it as a highway to India. For a time these fears were thought to have proved groundless, but the latest news fully confirms them. ABD-ER-RAHAMAN, the faithful ally of England, owing his Amirship to her armies, is drawing closer to Russia, in order to win the solid support of his own people.

In Egypt, also, England has got the wolf by the ears; to hold on and to let go are equally dangerous. It is true that the Egyptians are a much less warlike people than the Afghans; but true also, that their proximity to the Suez Canal gives them the opportunity of inflicting injuries more severe than were possible to the Afghans. It might have been thought that this was a case for trying that policy of conciliation which the Liberals, when out of power, urged as the wisest for Afghanistan. They said "Our safety in India lies in having the Afghans as our friends. There is no reason to suppose that they are incapable of being made friendly to us. On the contrary, our past experience of them is that they never have thrown themselves into the arms of Russia, except when we forced them to do so by our arrogance or our blunders. To invade their country is to insure their enmity."

There was no reason to suppose that ARABI Bey and his friends might not have been enlisted on the side of England, had any effort been made to that end. ARABI did not even quarrel with the Anglo-French Control. He praised it for its wise management of Egyptian finances, in the matter of a regular and equitable assessment of taxes. He praised it for lifting off the peasants a very considerable percentage of the burdens which the former Khedive had imposed. He thought, it is true, that the Egyptian debt should be scaled by a reduction of the nominal principal to the sums actually loaned to the ex-Khedive. And he thought that minor offices under the Control could be filled as well by natives, as by the troop of French and English officials, who saved up their salaries to spend after their return home. Yet at any time up to the firing upon Alexandria, he could have been induced to offer terms which would have secured all that England really needs in Egypt. But at no time since the rise of the national party in Egypt, has it or its leaders been treated by the English authorities with anything but the jingoish insolence which the Liberals rebuked in Lord BEACONSFIELD and his following.

England, having gone so far, must go farther. She cannot with safety evacuate the country. With every day it becomes more evident that the whole Egyptian people are arrayed against her. Arab and Copt, Christian and Moslem, have sunk their ancient feuds to unite in resistance to her demands. To restore the Khedive and the Control, and then leave them to deal with this people, would be to invite a new uprising. To kill or banish ARABI Bey would only leave his place vacant for a dozen leaders of the same temper. As England might have learnt from Ireland, nationality is one of those indestructible forces which all statesmanship must take into account. To it, as to the Catholic Church,

nullum tempus occurrit. It can wait, in the certainty of outliving any force which may be brought against it. It is the anvil which will break many a hammer. In Egypt, as in Ireland and Afghanistan, England has enlisted this principle against her own interests; and she will find that nothing is accomplished by the overthrow or expulsion of those who for the time serve as its spokesmen.

But the holding on to the wolf's ears is as dangerous as to let them go. An occupation of Egypt, however masked under the pretence of maintaining the authority of the Khedive, will involve complications with both European interests and Moslem opinion. It has long been recognized in European diplomacy, that the Turkish Empire was permitted to exist only because the great powers could not agree upon any plan for disposing of its possessions. On every side there are claimants, the principal being Russia, Greece and Austria-Hungary. When any one of these three has succeeded in appropriating a part, this has been urged as a reason for concessions to the rest. And the European Concert has conceded the justice of the claim. The Berlin Conference ceded territory to Greece, Montenegro and Austria-Hungary, to compensate for the conquests made by Russia, each of these countries having alleged these conquests as a good reason for expecting concessions. The same rule will apply to the English annexation of Egypt, and Italy will insist on being included among the claimants. Already, both Italy and Russia have indicated their dissatisfaction with the situation, and Austria-Hungary evidently shares their determination to watch for what they can get out of the new deal. Thus far, it is true, the Muscovite has shown his activity chiefly in prompting the Turk, and indicating the course which will annoy England most. But when once England commits herself to the permanent occupation of Egypt, the relations of all these powers will be strained to the last degree. A general European war may grow out of the attack on ARABI Bey; and with Ireland thoroughly disaffected, a general war is the last thing that England can afford.

Mr. GLADSTONE, besides, is running the serious risk of inflaming Moslem zeal, throughout the East, to the fighting point. All diplomacy must take account of the new intensity of religious feeling in Western Asia. A great religious revival began last century, with the Wahabee movement in Central Arabia. For a time it was bounded by the sectarian and national limits in which it originated. In the present century, it has spread Northward to the Caucasus, Eastward to Calcutta, and Westward to the Barbary States. It has been marked by a great decline in the use of spirituous liquors, and by a great increase in attendance at the mosques and in pilgrimages to Mecca. Sixty years ago, a *Jihad* or "War of Zeal," was an idea as obsolete with the Moslems, as is that of a crusade with Christians. Now it is on every tongue. The Sultan does not comply with the European demands, because he knows of the seething mass of fanaticism behind him in Constantinople. The Moslem who called out to him in the street the other day, that "the time was come for him to show himself a man," spoke for the great body of his Moslem co-believers. In one part of the Empire after another, the "house of faith" has been converted by Infidel conquest into that "house of confusion" in which no Moslem can die with safety to his soul. Roumania, Servia, Bokhara, Bulgaria, Eastern Armenia, Thessaly, Tunis, in our own time, have become countries in which, according to the soundest school of Mohammedan interpreters, the true believer has only the choice of flight or rebellion. Is Egypt, the first conquest of the Prophet's soldiers outside of Arabia, and the neighborland to the holy city itself, to become "the house of confusion," to the severance of the Prophet's grave and the Caaba, by Infidel territory, from the great body of African Moslems? And is the spiritual and temporal head of Islam, the Sultan himself, to help to this desecration and pollution?—These are the questions which are stirring multitudes, not only on the Bosphorus, but wherever the new awakening of Moslem zeal has been felt. And any over-eagerness for English control in Egypt might cause an earthquake which would be felt, beyond Calcutta to the straits of Malacca.

WEEKLY NOTES.

HARDLY any of the minor details of the Census are of more particular interest than the returns showing the number of separate farms in the United States, and their sizes. The grand total of farms in all the States and Territories is fixed at a round four millions, the ex-

act figures being 4,008,907, and this is a great increase since 1870, the number then being 2,659,985. This increase is due in part to one great influence—the taking up of new land in the West—that would be pointed out readily by any one who knows this country at all; but it is also due to the partition of the large plantations in many of the Southern States. This movement has been steadily and continually going on during the last decade, and it is a most beneficial and desirable change. It indicates the rise of a "middle class" between the great land-holders and the former slaves—the growth of that element of independent yeomen which must always be one of the safest and surest supports of free government.

UNDER the heading of "distribution of farms according to tenure," it is shown that 2,984,306 were occupied by their owners; 322,357 were rented at a fixed money rental, and 702,244 were rented for shares of products. These figures form an interesting feature. The *Census Bulletin* presenting them gives a few States and Territories in detail. In Massachusetts, 35,266 farms are occupied by their owners, while only 2,292 are rented for money and 848 on shares. This shows a remarkable contrast, but just such as would be expected, when compared with Tennessee and Texas, which are representatives of the great Southern movement. The division of the large plantations has been effected largely by putting out the separate farms "on shares" to the colored people, and this fact is presented in the Census return. In Tennessee, there are 108,454 farms occupied by their owners, 19,266 rented for money, and 37,930 rented on shares, while in Texas the figures under these heads are respectively 108,716, 12,089 and 53,379.

STILL another very interesting particular is the size of the farms. They are placed under eight headings: under 3 acres; 3 and under 10; 10 and under 20; 20 and under 50; 50 and under 100; 100 and under 500; 500 and under 1000; 1000 and over. Naturally, the numbers of these classes are highest in the middle. According to the returns, 4,352 farms were less than 3 acres; 134,889 above 3 and less than 10; 254,749 between 10 and 20; 781,474 between 20 and 50; 1,032,910 between 50 and 100; 1,695,983 between 100 and 500; 75,972 between 500 and 1000; and 28,578 were 1,000 acres in extent and upward. The study of these figures shows to what a great extent the agriculture of the country is based on moderate holdings of land. Thus, taking the three classes which include the range from 50 acres to 499 acres, we have altogether 2,804,865, or 70 per cent. of the whole. Of the remaining 1,204,042, no less than 1,036,223 are in the class between 10 and 50 acres, which largely represents, in the Northern States, the carefully tilled and highly productive "truck" farms, and in the South, to an equal degree, represents holdings acquired by the colored people on lease or in fee. It may be said that a holder of farm land anywhere from 10 acres upward, and not above 500, is a safe holder, politically and socially, and that it is only when the tracts rise above 500 acres that we are inclined to look upon them with suspicion and question. The figures, therefore, are reassuring on this point. Out of the whole four millions of farms, only 104,550 are over 500 acres in extent—or less than 3 per cent. Most of these large holdings are the remaining large "plantations" of the South. Over fourteen thousand of them are in the two States of Texas and Tennessee, while a few are found in the Northwestern Territories—347 in Colorado, 48 in Idaho, 113 in Montana, 230 in Nevada, and 52 in Wyoming. This, however, does not exhibit the great cattle "ranges" of those States, which are not to be called "farms" and we presume do not appear in this census return as such.

THE Boston *Commonwealth* argues in favor of paying off the whole national debt in the next ten years. We are entitled to assume that it has not informed itself of all the facts in the financial situation. Can the Government force bondholders to accept payment of bonds that are not payable? If not, at what premium would those bonds be purchasable, in the open market, whose premium is now 15 to 20 per cent., with the Government not reaching out for them? 250 millions of 4½ per cents. do not become redeemable until nine years hence—September 1, 1891—and \$738¾ millions of 4 per cents., do not become redeemable for twenty-five years—July 1, 1907. These are great facts in the situation, and it is quite impossible to formulate any financial plan for the future without taking them into account. Does the *Commonwealth* intend to go into the open market and buy the bonds, in advance of their becoming payable? If so, let us look at the spectacle presented last week when the privilege of being among the last to receive payment of their 3½ per cents. caused holders to eagerly compete for priority in exchanging them for 3 per cents. Taking in the significance of this, it is fair to presume that if the Government at any time within ten years, should enter the market to purchase 4 per cents. of 1907, they would go to 40 per cent. premium, or possibly more.

THE pungent remark of Mr. CURTIS, in his Newport address, that "the intelligence of the country craves a more inspiring political music than the cackling of old party hens over stale eggs," is the representation of a very general feeling amongst the people. In the South, the

Memphis *Avalanche* makes good-natured ridicule of the wild appeal of Democratic stump orators, adjuring the people to "stand by" the "grand old party," and it reduces, for brevity's sake, the stock phrase into the initials "g. o. p." In a recent issue, it complains, however, that Governor HAWKINS, the Republican candidate for Governor, has been stealing the designation for his own party, and it informs him that the Republicans must not claim it, that they are the party of "g. m. i."—great moral ideas. There is a color of a gibe in this stroke of the *Avalanche*, which Republicans will not laugh at, perhaps; and yet when they turn to the reading of Mr. Hubbell's circular, to the evidence in the Star Route trials, or to the appropriation bills of Congress, they may be forced to feel that Democratic appeals for the "g. o. p." are not less a cackle over stale eggs than is the pretence of the Stalwarts that the organization which they control is one of "g. m. i."

CONCERNING Lord and Lady ROLLE, who were alluded to in a recent item under "Weekly Notes," we are able to say that the statements of fact in our item were quite accurate, notwithstanding the suggestions of error made by a correspondent in Tennessee, in THE AMERICAN of last week. The latter—Mr. RADFORD—erred by trusting his memory, instead of consulting the records. The "Peerage" (see title "Clinton") shows that Lady ROLLE's mother died in 1798, and therefore Lady ROLLE could not very well, as suggested by Mr. RADFORD, have been born in 1822. Our correspondent will further find, on consulting the "Dormant and Extinct Peerage," that Lord ROLLE did marry secondly on 24 September, 1822, and died in 1842, that being, as our correspondent observes, "some years ago." The anecdote narrated by Mr. RADFORD is probably founded on fact, Archdeacon MOORE-STEVENS, a kinsman of Lord ROLLE, and reputed to have been much disappointed under his will, being, doubtless, the indiscreet story teller alluded to.

A FRIEND writes to THE AMERICAN: "The Hungarian gypsies, who have been giving concerts at the Mannerchor Garden and at Belmont, are in every way a remarkable set of men. They are artists by nature, and play with a fire and an enthusiasm now very rare. Two or three of them were in Paris during the Exposition of 1878, and were among the number of Romany musicians that are described by Mr. CHARLES G. LELAND in his recent work on Gypsies."

LITTRÉ.

THE tributes paid to Emil Littré, on the occasion of the introduction of his successor to the French Academy, are well worth noting as signs of the times. Pasteur, famous for his chemical and physiological research, now fills the chair of Littré, who did much of his best work in the literature of medicine, and he, therefore, was a fit subject for the grateful criticism of the representative of the younger school of science in France. The address of Renan, as Director of the Academy, was full of that graceful eloquence which always characterizes his productions, and it was admirably turned, so as to be at once a defence of his own views, so unlike those of both Littré and Pasteur, and a eulogy of the personal virtues of the former, as well as a compliment to the scientific achievements of the latter. But greater in point of detail, and therefore of more general interest, is the article in a recent *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in which Caro, the well known metaphysician, tells the story of Littré's earlier struggles and final successes.

Coming of plain parentage, he owed more perhaps to the masculine intellect of his mother, than to his father's somewhat ascetic republicanism, yet the father educated himself in maintaining his place as domestic tutor to his sons, and they were both winners of great scholastic prizes in early youth. The elder son meant to become a physician, but the last expensive stages of his taking a degree in medicine were cut short by his poverty, consequent upon the father's death, and he turned to the hard task of becoming a tutor in a great public school, while he set to work, by scientific and literary studies, to complete his education himself.

His contributions to medical literature were among the most important publications of the times, and his translations and editions of the classical writers on medicine and kindred sciences, still remain hand-books of frequent reference. He soon began work on a newspaper, and the tribute paid to his services by the editor, in a letter to Littré's mother, when he showed his ability for work far above that first entrusted to him, is one of the most touching accidents of a life full of lovable domestic traits. It was almost by accident that he engaged in those philological labors which paved the way for his great achievement, his Dictionary, and ripe and strong as he was in scholarship, it is characteristic of the man's native modesty, that when he was asked to edit a dictionary, he took time—and a good deal of time—even to consider the proposal, and, having accepted it, he spent a year in the preparation of a plan, which finally was that of the most important philological and encyclopædic book of our day. Supplied with a strong staff of able men, Littré himself worked for fifteen hours a day, at his part of the task, and his wife and daughter, fitting companions for such a student, helped him to complete his allotted task and to make his life pleasant during the twelve years of his laborious authorship. Even

when the war of 1870 and the Commune interrupted him, quietly packing away all his wealth of material, he devoted himself to other studies, revised his earlier productions, and calmly and pointedly criticised them, pointing out the instances where he was wrong in his political and social and literary judgments and views.

Republican in politics, liberal in creed, pure in a life of filial and domestic virtues, he lived in a world apart, devoted to his tasks, greater in number and more successful in execution than it is possible to credit, and conscious himself of the merit of his long labor, he quietly gave an account of the unceasing devotion of his life and the methodical distribution of his time and the perfect harmony of his domestic circle, by which he was enabled to do so much and to do it so well. That he was respected in his life and honored in his death, is of itself proof that Frenchmen are by no means the superficial and flippant race that we are so apt to accept as typical of the whole nation. Indeed, it is not only in such labors as Littré's that France shows the result of method and system applied to ability and education, but in every field of science and learning, in manufactures, in trade and commerce, there is daily proof of the good results of system and method and industry. In Littré's case, all sorts of contemporary honors were awarded to him, but he was utterly without any personal vanity, and his humility was so far-reaching that, firm as he was in his own personal belief, he lived in perfect harmony with the most devout, as well as the most devoted mother, wife and daughter. The posthumous praise of those were his associates in some tasks, his opponents in many opinions, his very antipodes in pursuits and beliefs, is all the more earnest and heartfelt, because it is accompanied by strong dissent from his theories on many subjects. Still, the lesson it teaches is much needed here, of perfect toleration, absolute liberty of thought, sympathy in common studies, respect for all intellectual work, and the final triumph of industry over bodily ailments.

BAD BOYS' LITERATURE.

THE mischievous reading matter furnished the boy of the period is not confined to the "Police" style of periodicals. There are many juvenile story-papers which have a certain respectability, and are admitted without question into multitudes of decent homes, that must and do have a very bad effect upon youthful readers. But we make no especial point upon them here, since the present object is to call attention to the distinctively immoral publications for boys.

The many periodicals of the more decent kind are objectionable, principally on account of their preponderance of flashy fiction, through which the youth imbibes extravagant and untrustworthy views of life, and by which, before he is ready to assume his share of the universal burden, he is so fevered and enfeebled as to be inadequate to the demands upon his strength. But what terms can be severe enough to characterize the out-and-out blackguard juvenile weeklies? We are here brought face to face with a speculation so vile and shameless in its character, that it well might be considered an impossible thing, but for the evidences of its existence that we see everywhere about us. At present, New York city is the headquarters of this surpassingly mean way of making a living, all the chief *Bad Boy* papers emanating from there; but there is a singular variability in the business. Not long ago, there were flourishing concerns of the kind in Boston and Chicago. The career of individual enterprises seems short, but unscrupulous persons are ever found to make fresh ventures, and so the supply does not die out. The history of the *Bad Boy* sheet is something like this: either it is not "spicy" enough, and hence fails to make a paying business; or success at the start renders it more and more indifferent to cleanliness and legal restraint, until some fine day it finds itself in the clutches of the society for the suppression of vice; or it is in too great haste to reap the harvest of golden eggs, and inserts indecent advertisements, when the law also gets a grip on it; or better equipped and more unscrupulous concerns run it out. In one or the other of these ways, more of these flash papers have collapsed within five years than are now published, but in the nature of things complete relief is not from such causes to be expected. On the contrary, the papers constantly improve,—that is, they grow larger and "spicier," fuller of the peculiar matter which experience has shown the speculators that the *Bad Boy* approves.

There are before us copies of recent date of the three most considerable journals of the kind, and they may be taken as representative of the entire unsavory brood. We will look into them, with a view of indicating the kind of literary material that our thieves, counterfeiters and confidence men of the near future are enjoying. We take up first, what is said to be the principal paper of its class. Some newsmen allow it a circulation of 150,000 copies weekly,—all who have been questioned place the figure at over 100,000; this paper is about seven years old. The next in importance, which has been issued for five years, has a circulation of 50,000 copies weekly. The third in the category is a year old, and circulates about 30,000 copies. In these three journals we have, on the best authority, a *bona fide* weekly sale of not far from 200,000 copies, and probably close upon 1,000,000 weekly readers. Smaller concerns certainly bring the weekly sale to 300,000 copies, and the number of weekly readers to 1,500,000. All of them issue, moreover, a weekly "Library," after the model of more pretentious publishing

houses. Each flimsy pamphlet contains one of the "novels" lately running through the paper, and these pamphlets are sold, like the papers, at a uniform price of five cents. The newsmen were unable to give any figures relative to the *Bad Boys'* "Libraries," but the total sales it was everywhere agreed must be very considerable.

The copy of the principal sheet before us contains instalments of no less than eight serial "novels." The balance of its contents consists of two sketches, in which the characteristics of the main articles are preserved, some concert-saloon "poetry," and "answers to correspondents." The make up of the papers is much alike, and this leading journal is, in no cursorily discoverable way, either better or worse than its contemporaries. The "Harry Hazels" and "Kitty Clydes" who make the staff of contributors might easily be a single individual, if we could suppose one brain capable of such enormous and endless repetitions of vicious slop. The novels, the poetry, the sketches, are all alike, and the spectacle of a boy or girl attempting to mentally digest the never-ceasing flow of exaggeration and vulgarity offered by even one of these papers, is a most incomprehensible thing. It is done, to be sure, by children of a larger growth, through the adult story-papers which are in no appreciable way better than these little sheets, but the stronger brain is at least better able to stand the pressure. We may append the titles of the novels in one of the three sheets, though it will not be necessary to follow the precedent thus set in the remainder of our remarks. The titles are these: "Columbia, or the Young Fireman of Glendale"; "Young Hickory, the Spy, or Man, Woman or Boy?"; "Bob Rollick, the Yankee Notion Drummer"; "The Moonshiner's Terror"; "Adrift in the Tree Tops"; "The Young Privateer"; "Otholo, the Night Hawk"; "Green Mountain Jo, the Trapper". The second of the three, which bears the sub-title, "A Sparkling Journal for Young Gentlemen," contains chapters of seven novels with the melange above noted, while the third actually gives instalments of ten serial stories! Now observe: in every one of these tales a *Bad Boy* is the hero, and the height of every boy's desire is made to be: first to deceive his parents, and next to circumvent either the natural foes of "Young Gentlemen" (Red Indians and Grizzly Bears), or their unnatural enemies, the officers of justice! The secret of the success of this speculation is of course right here, in making boys the heroes of the fiction; boys kill the wild beasts and the wilder Indians, capture the desperadoes, learn the arts of pocket-picking and burglary, become expert counterfeiters, study diligently to graduate as pirates and freebooters, and do all the other things usual among "Young Gentlemen." The effect of such a course of reading diligently persisted in should not, we venture to say, be a matter of any doubt. Where it fails of turning "Young Gentlemen" into irreclaimable blackguards and criminals, it must induce a moral atrophy and brain-softening fatal to after success in any walk of life.

The "answers to correspondents" will be found by students of the *Bad Boys'* papers, a very significant feature. Naturally, the lessons taught them crop out in the queries they are encouraged to address the editors, and we notice repeated requests for advice concerning the purchase of fire-arms and gambling materials, and for information regarding "sporting men" of all kinds. The speculators turn an "honest penny," also, by publishing "manuals" of various sorts, and the correspondent is thus made the constant vehicle of an advertisement. If he asks a question about champion oarsmen he is referred to the firm's exhaustive hand-book on the subject, price only ten cents; if he wants to know where to buy a good second-hand revolver, he is admonished that in a small book about pistols and bowie knives, compiled in the especial interest of "Young Gentlemen," he can get all the desired information; if he asks, as many correspondents do, something about Guiteau, he is informed that the publishers issue a work describing "all the famous assassinations from the time of Julius Caesar to the present day." The advice given is sometimes of a severely professional kind; thus we note this generous turn shown "Montana Kid": "The following is a good cure for face pimples: Dilute corrosive sublimate with oil of almonds and apply to the face occasionally." The "Young Gentleman" who should follow that advice too faithfully would speedily render himself an object of attention in society—even in that of the "Montana Kids."

Will any one be good enough to explain what the yield must be from this sort of tare-sowing, so extensively carried on?

CORRESPONDENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LITERATURE.

NEWPORT, R. I., August 5th, 1882.

THE Newport conference of representatives of the league of local associations on the 2d inst., was a good occasion to estimate the progress of their work, as well as to take stock of the literature of Civil Service Reform. The papers distributed to the audience, fit though few, at its brief session, were voluminous enough to supply food for reflection at later leisure. "The Constitution of the National Civil Service Reform League" is very short and pithy, nine clauses providing its scheme, to which, however, but a minority of local associations, its only constituents, have as yet subscribed. "The Minutes and Re-

ports" of the meetings of its Federative Council in New York for October, November and December of 1881, and January, February and June of 1882, show that the work done by the representative body requires no small amount of discussion and debate. A circular protesting against political assessments on civil servants is fitly followed by the opinion of Judge Wallace, of the Circuit Court of New York, in the case of General Curtis. These are all fly leaves, but of greater substance are the pamphlets, most noteworthy Mr. John Jay's "Report on the Expediency of asking the Candidates for Public Office their views of Civil Service Reform," of 41 pages, giving the history of times past, when Buchanan and Cass, Marcy and Douglas, Fillmore and Seward, put themselves on record by fitting answers to searching questions. Not a few of the rising candidates for popular favor have fallen never to rise again, from the self-inflicted blows received in some political open letter turned against them. Mr. Jay makes timely use of the letter of Colonel George Bliss to General Chester A. Arthur, in reference to the Republican organizations in the city of New York, not long ago, in which he said, "the stream of party purity would have to rise higher than its source in the primaries, before either party could be expected, without the pressure of public opinion, to reform its methods;" he showed that the "city Republican organizations were simply a machine conducted with rotten rolls and bogus names and fraudulent voting, so that twenty-four associations with 13,000 members, many of the men not Republicans—in many cases, Democrats—pretended in elections, conducted with conspicuous unfairness, to represent the 50,000 Republicans of the city," but said Colonel Bliss to General Arthur, "You and I know that the rolls are utterly deceptive." What an admirable answer this letter would be to the specious and ingenious offer of the Stalwart leaders to our own Independents of Pennsylvania, to refer all questions between them to the decision of the primaries, "where party managers, for their own ends, adopt methods to defraud the party which they profess to serve, and whose interest and honor they are bound to guard." Party as properly defined, is, as Mr. Jay puts it, a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed,—party as it is seen in our midst, is but the retinue of a cohort of Bosses. General Grant, Mr. Jay tells us, estimated the loss to the United States, for want of a permanent and competent civil service, of one-fourth of its proper revenue; General Butler put it at 40 per cent.,—Mr. Schenck said that 70 per cent. of the whiskey tax was at one time lost, while General Arthur himself testified to the loss of many millions to the Government. A strong and timely reference to the advantage of improved administration in New York charities suggests comparison with our own Alms House, where a reduction in the death rate is perfectly compatible with a reduction in expenses. Mr. Jay wisely urges that State Legislatures, as well as Congress, should be the objective point, lest in Chatham's fiery words, "if Parliament be not reformed from within, it will be reformed with a vengeance from without."

The list of Publications and Documents of the Civil Service Reform Association, as printed, includes a reprint from Parton's Life of Jackson, of a chapter on the beginning of the spoils system (p. 23). Mr. Dorman B. Eaton's pamphlet (p. 123), on "The Custom House and Post Office in New York,"—properly dedicated to Silas W. Burt, the efficient naval officer of that port, who, in 1871, conducted the first competitive examination ever held for appointments in the civil service of the United States, and who, from that day to this, has stood boldly forward to enforce economy and efficiency, by thus securing to the country the example of the actual practical application of Civil Service Reform to the largest Custom House in the country, and to its busiest Post Office. Here again we find Collector Arthur able, by means of partial measures of Civil Service Reform, to "advise a 12 per cent. reduction of his force, so much did examinations exclude many unfit persons and deter a much larger number from applying." Indeed, so thorough-going was Collector Arthur, that his advocacy of permanence in office outran the views of the Civil Service Reformers, and even Mr. Eaton notes a mild protest, preferring a sort of natural selection, a distribution on the score of merit, tested by non-partisan examiners, of the federal offices and their salaries, as a means of stimulating the public school system. Mr. Eaton, like Mr. Jay, goes back to the primaries, as organized both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, as the source and origin of the mischiefs that culminate in the spoils system as the reward of precinct bosses, and the currency with which the chiefs retain their henchmen in proper dependence. Willard Brown's "Civil Service Reform in the New York Custom House," in its 19 pages, makes a pithy and significant summing up of the results of the tests introduced there by Colonel Burt, with a table of the fifty-six examinations by which a large percentage of the best employes have been secured admission and advancement. The gist of the matter, as an appeal for popular support, is in the statement that "by far the larger number of applicants have received only a common school education, and if the system of entrance into the civil service by examination were made universal, thousands would enter the public schools with the intention of fitting themselves for the service, and this fact would naturally act as a stimulant to render these schools more efficient." Again, we find President Arthur cited as "exceeding in boldness all his predecessors in office in his advocacy of specific measures of

reform." Mr. Eaton's "Term and Tenure of Office," pp. 108, is a reprint of an article that originally appeared in *The Penn Monthly*, and it is a much-needed boiling down of his large book on Civil Service Reform, with additional illustrations from late experiences.

The pamphlets in preparation are "A History of the Spoils System," by George William Curtis; "The Effect of the Spoils System on Party Nominations," by Horace White; "Political Assessments," by A. K. Macdonough; "The Objection to the Reform that it would produce an Aristocracy of Office Holders," by E. L. Godkin; so that the last word has not yet been said. Of other matter distributed by the Association, the most noteworthy are the "Debate on Civil Service Reform before the Seventh Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church," in which Charles Gibbons, of Philadelphia, Joseph Packard, Jr., of Baltimore, Seth Low, of Brooklyn, E. P. Wheeler, of New York, E. R. Atwell, of Burlington, Vermont, and other equally representative men, urged this new departure in throwing the influence of a great church organization in the scale in favor of a reform in the civil administration. Fly leaves, with the opinions of Garfield and his Postmaster General, James, are among the most useful appeals to the great masses to take up the cry. "The Report of the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment" is the formal title of the argument in support of Mr. Pendleton's Bill, in a Pub. Doc. of 225 pages, in which fifteen pages are given to the bill itself, with its thirteen sections, to a brief summary of what has been gained by even a partial introduction of the system here, and of what may reasonably be hoped by making it not only law, but actually part of the working of our Government,—national, state and local. The bulk of the report is made up of the testimony of Messrs. Eaton, Pearson, Burt, Wheeler, Graves, Beard, Curtis, Thomas, Bates, Stockbridge, Kimball and Clark, all representative men, and those of them who belong to the Civil Service fully competent to point out the actual practical benefit derived from Civil Service Reform, not as a theory, but as an absolutely necessary requirement. It is, perhaps, proof of the anticipation that Civil Service Reform is growing in interest and importance in the public eye and mind, that two such leaders as Senator Pendleton and Senator Dawes should each have his own project of a law, and should try to secure evidence in support of the details of his own scheme from the practical experts, as well as from the chiefs of the league formed to advocate a reform in the Civil Service. It is easily seen that Mr. Pendleton's bill is Mr. Eaton's, while Mr. Dawes' may be assigned rather to the Massachusetts Civil Service reformers, who go beyond Mr. Eaton in their plans.

The artistic mingling of theoretic discussion, by men of such ability for putting things as Curtis and Eaton and Wheeler, with the plain, blunt experiences of the representatives of the Treasury, the Patent Office, and the other expert and technical bureaux, produces very interesting and instructive reading. Of course, the best statement of the matter is that made by Mr. Curtis, who sketches briefly and tersely the whole history of the spoils system. It existed in Jefferson's administration, rather as a state than as a national evil, and to overcome its abuses in New York, where Aaron Burr then held sway, and in Pennsylvania, where Governor McKean ruled with the most active practice of boss management, Jefferson was on the point of issuing an executive order, prepared by Gallatin, compared with which Harrison's and Hayes's proclamations were written in very pale ink, but Madison's influence kept it back. Although the flood of evils did not burst forth until Jackson nationalized the New York system, yet the stream was gathering strength from the day when Jefferson failed to dam it at its very source. It was Thomas A. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, who first undertook to find a remedy by Congressional legislation, and whatever the outcome of the present general agitation of the subject, it must be borne in mind that he was the leader who met the incredulous gaze of his fellow-representatives, and the almost contemptuous indifference of the press, when he proclaimed Civil Service Reform a practical question. It was Mr. Curtis's good fortune thus to find the path broken down, but it was he who, with the help of Goldwin Smith, then living in this country, was enabled to show in tempting form the good results of English Civil Service Reform. He pointed out in emphatic terms the absolutely democratic character of that service, as opposed to the oligarchic method of our own spoils system. He first inaugurated the test examinations for our own service, and he has closely followed them in their working in the New York Custom House, where Colonel Burt has maintained the efficacy of the system, in spite of the sneers of many of those who think themselves its strong supporters, because they fancy that an Act of Congress can do more than actual experience. Mr. Curtis wisely sees and says that the great object is to secure the most efficient public service, and the best way is to provide that the entrance shall be by test examination, and that promotion shall secure to the public the benefit of knowledge and experience gained in its service; that public opinion constitutionally manifested is really the controlling power in this country, and that Congress, as representing the outcome of intelligent popular discussion, having once expressed that opinion by a law, it would have a binding force upon the Executive in the exercise of his largest constitutional power. It is as the best means of creating an intelligent public opinion that Civil Service literature merits careful study.

J. G. R.

THE TREATY WITH COREA.

PHILADELPHIA, August 7.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

Permit me a few words of comment on the recent treaty between the United States and Corea. It shall take the shape chiefly of extracts from a recent Japanese paper which has reached me. The *Tokio Daily News* (*Nijiniji Shinbun*) says as follows:

"Having read the statement of the treaty negotiated between the Korean government and Commodore Shufeldt of the United States of America, we could not help being astonished; so we will take up the principal points for discussion. The first article says 'Although Corea belongs to China, from this time forth [in the translation into English these two words are omitted] foreign and domestic affairs shall be free.

... The sovereign power of the United States recognizes that Corea belongs to China, and hereafter the United States shall not interfere in this matter.' We say, this very provision conflicts with the character of the document, as a treaty between independent nations, and with itself; since foreign and domestic affairs are free, Corea must be an independent kingdom. Anyhow, we cannot find what is the sense of Commodore Shufeldt's concession that Corea belongs to China. Is it not strange that such a treaty should be made by so civilized a country as the United States? The third article says, both countries send ministers and have a minister resident, in the respective capitals. Although the first article says that Korean foreign and domestic affairs shall be free, yet it says that Corea belongs to China. We fear it will involve dishonor to the United States to send her minister to a dependency of China.

"As to the sixth article, about the tariff, we doubt whether such treaty is not against the policy of the United States toward the Oriental nations. Article 6 says, 'The power to regulate import and export duties and to punish smuggling, etc., shall be in the control of the Korean government; but before such regulations become a law, the Government must secure the consent of the officers of the United States.' Since the government of Corea is obliged to get the consent of officers of the United States (foreigners) whenever it wishes to change its custom duties, the treaty is exactly like our present Japanese treaty with England and other powers. Farther on in the statement, we find that the Korean government binds herself not to impose custom duties of more than thirty per cent. The sixth article says: 'Useful articles and provisions shall not be under duties higher than eleven per cent.; luxurious wines, spirit liquors, tobacco, etc., not more than thirty per cent.; raw materials, five per cent.' If such a treaty had been made by a power of Europe, we should not have been surprised; but when made by the United States Commodore, it gives us an unpleasant surprise. We Japanese have believed that, since about the time of General Grant's administration, they have shown an eagerness to protect the independence of Asiatic nations, and that ex-President Hayes, General Garfield, and the present President Arthur have followed the same diplomatic policy. The United States is the first nation to recognize our right to revise the present treaties, and has promised that our government shall have the whole power to regulate its own custom duties. This high and noble attitude is respected not only by the people of Japan, but by the world. Commodore Shufeldt must be presumed to know the public opinion of his own countrymen. If he does so, why should he not have left the whole power to control the custom-house duties in the hands of the government of Corea?

"In general, the European powers have been in the habit of catching at advantage in dealing with the ignorance about foreign commerce on the part of Asiatic nations. Does he wish to take advantage of the ignorance of the Korean nation?

"Again the treaty of Commodore Shufeldt does say nothing explicit about the time for revision of the treaty. This we think very strange. Whenever such a treaty is made, it ought to be specified that after a certain year the governments concerned shall have the right to revise the treaty, or that the treaty shall expire after ten years; that the parties to it shall make a new treaty. Such provision would be a sound policy for the United States.

"We think that when the treaty statement is laid before President Arthur he will not sign it, nor will the Senate confirm it. Also, that ex-President General Grant and the Republican party, who have shown themselves so ready to protect Eastern nations, will not give their support to such a treaty. Because the treaty is quite the opposite of the true policy of the American people to check the interference of European powers."

My translation is not very exact, and I have omitted parts of the article, while correctly reproducing its sense and purpose. Permit me to add that this paper is the ablest and the most important of the Japanese newspapers.

I have read carefully the treaty itself, written in the Korean language. In all its fifteen articles I found nothing about the revision of the treaty. Only the thirteenth article refers to agreements, not included in the treaty itself, which may be made within five years after date, to be based on experience of what is needed in the intercourse between the two countries, and to be reached by conference.

Permit me to hope that America will not ruin her prestige in Eastern Asia by ratifying this treaty. Yours, etc., SHIRO SHIBA.

LITERATURE.

WALT WHITMAN'S COMPLETE VOLUME.*

[The publication of Walt Whitman's complete and unexpurgated volume, relinquished by his Boston publishers on account of the objections of the Attorney-General of Massachusetts to certain of its contents, has been undertaken by a Philadelphia publisher. We present, in this connection, some views concerning Whitman's poetry generally, and add some further remarks concerning the propriety of issuing the volume in its present shape.—ED. THE AMERICAN.]

THE REALISM OF WALT WHITMAN.

"If we look at the matter widely, there is really no such thing as good or bad subjects in poetry, but good or bad poets. Anything, everything, is a fit subject. Art has no business with leading-strings or handcuffs or gags. It says to you, 'Go;' and turns you loose into the great garden of poetry where there is no forbidden fruit." This is Victor Hugo's protest against the disapprobation of those French critics whose conventional imaginations were very much disturbed by the astonishing leaps through time and space that were made by this untrammelled and disorderly genius. It is this same "*quidquid agunt homines*," unrestrained freedom of choice, that Walt Whitman has so urgently insisted upon, when the well-regulated public has remonstrated at what he calls liberty, and society license. If we "look at the matter widely," as Hugo recommends, we shall be inclined to agree with the French poet that art should not be handcuffed, and admit as the final test only that the result shall be good poetry; but then this final test must be firmly insisted upon. If a poet has produced really fine poetry, no matter what his material may have been, he has justified himself, at least from the standpoint of his art. But in order to apply this test substantially, we must consider what really good art is; and we find it to be the noble expression of noble ideas; and if it fail in either of these directions it ceases to be the best art. If the ideas are no longer worthy, while the form remains perfect, we have an art that rapidly deteriorates and becomes trivial, and bears within it the germ of decay. If, on the other hand, the ideas are noble and the form indifferent, we have an imperfect, incomplete art, that if it be in a healthy state must soon develop into fuller and finer expression. There is, therefore, not the danger that those concerned with the merely moral side of the question might suppose, in setting art free and cutting her leading strings, as long as the real function of art is recognized. There are plenty of restrictions left, in the severe restraint on hand and eye and speech that true art imposes on her honest servants. What matters it how poor, how mean, how simple the material, if the touch of the artist can turn it to gold, if the imagination can glorify it? There is a certain superb license that brings its own apology with it, when a man of genius is carried over the bounds of convention by the rush of passion, or the glory of beauty, or the heat of a fervid imagination, and is grand at the same time that he is gross, as Shakespeare was sometimes, or Rubens. But if he is only gross without being grand, then there is no quarter for him anywhere, and he is rejected both by morals and art. Realism, for its own sake, has no place in art, least of all in poetry; for poetry, by its very form, separates itself from prose as an imaginative manner of expressing the ideal side of nature and of man's emotions, passions and actions. In prose even brutal realism sometimes justifies itself, when there is need to make reality seem as terribly real as possible, and to present facts impressively; but we see to what degradation poetry can be reduced by conscientiously applied realism, even in the hands of a poet of imagination and the most refined sensibilities, a poet who had produced the finest imaginative poetry, in Wordsworth's "Simon Lee." And we see to what infinitely lower degradation realism can bring a man without refined sensibilities and a cultivated imagination in Whitman's "Children of Adam."

It is only another proof of the enormous egotism of the man, that he should claim to have made a new departure in insisting on the physical basis of passion, as there is scarcely a poet from Anacreon to Swinburne who has failed to do it ample justice. All that he has done is to tear off, with a rude hand, the thin veil of ideality that "shadowed its form though not concealed," and drag it bare before the public, shorn of the finer, higher, purer emotions that sentiment has so intimately associated with it, and stripped of all imaginative charm. This he assuredly has done. It is true that Whitman is a son of the people, and has naturally missed the refining influences of early associations; but then one is forced to remember another son of the people, Robert Burns, and one involuntarily thinks of his

"O, my Love's like a red, red rose,
That's newly sprung in June:
O my Love's like a melody
That's sweetly played in tune,"

when one comes to lines like these,—verses they can scarcely be called:

"Sometimes with one I love I fill myself with rage for fear I effuse unreturned love. But now I think there is no such thing as unreturned love; the pay is certain one way or another.

(I loved a certain person ardently and my love was unreturned,
Yet out of my love have I written these songs.)"

* "Leaves of Grass." [By Walt Whitman.] Pp. 382. Rees Welsh & Co., Philadelphia.

Or put this beside it, so full of spontaneousness and the emotion of the hour.

"O, wha can prudence think upon,
And sic a lassie by him?
O, wha can prudence think upon,
And sae in love as I am?"

But it is not only to noble or graceful ideas, but to worthy expression of them as well, that poetry owes its power and charm; and it is in this sense of form that Walt Whitman is so essentially lacking. A poet must be an artist, as well as a man of imagination, and however much of an outlaw or rebel he may be in spirit, must submit himself to the laws of his art. Methods he must have though they be of his own choosing, and the man of genius always recognizes the necessity of such restraints. A poet who absolutely ignores the charm of verse, has missed the secret of his art. An English poet who neglects the language of poetry, which is something set apart from the common terms of daily speech, and by preference employs the most hackneyed, prosaic literal expressions of everyday life, has no sense of the sacredness of poetry. When one thinks of what real poetry is, one has hardly patience with a man who could offer the public lines like these, and call them poetry:

"I tucked my trowser-ends into my boots, and went and had a good time."

"Do I contradict myself?

Very well then I contradict myself.

(I am large, I contain multitudes.)"

"I reckon I am their boss, and they make me a pet besides."

"I assert that all fast days were what they must have been,
And that they could no-how have been better than what they were,
And that to-day is what it must be, and that America is,
And that to-day and America could no-how be better than what they are."

Could indifference of ideas and contempt of form be carried further than this?

In Whitman's case, it is especially unfortunate that he should have failed to conceive of poetry as an art, for every now and then one comes across a burst of something that might have been poetry, and fine poetry too, if it had been shaped by an artist. There is this from the "Song of Myself":

"I am he that walks with the tender and growing night.
I call to the earth and the sea half-held by the night,
Press close, bare-bosomed night—press close, magnetic, nourishing night!
Night of the south-winds—night of the large few stars!
Still, nodding night—mad, naked summer night."

There are passages of this quality scattered through the volume in "Drum Taps," "Sea Drift," "From Noon to Starry Night," but they shine like oases among weary pages that are an inextricable tangle of incoherent emotions, epithets, invectives, detached thoughts, inconsequent reflections, un-analyzable divagations, that spread in straggling unmetrical lines. The author of "Leaves of Grass" entirely lacks, or has never cultivated any sustained power of construction, and the fact that he has been taken so seriously in Europe is partly due to his astonishing egotism, his defiant tone and fierce assertion of his own individuality, and partly to the indiscriminating manner that prevails in certain English literary circles to find something that shall be unmistakably typical of the new civilization of the crude Western world, something that might pass for the poetry of the self-made man.

It is not from an ethical standpoint, not from narrow, conservative prejudice, that Walt Whitman's insistent realism is inevitably condemned, but from the vital principles of his art, which it offends beyond reconciliation. He is judged by a canon that he himself would hardly refuse to accept: "In poetry, there is no such thing as good or bad subjects, but good or bad poets." T. FRANCIS GORDON.

THE CONDEMNATION OF THE UNEDITED BOOK.

Making large allowance for all the considerations which forbid the application of prudish and narrow notions to the expression of thought in art and literature, we are still obliged to unqualifiedly condemn the issue of the unexpurgated edition of this book. We write, not to advertise it, though such ground of complaint as we present is liable, we are very well aware, to make new buyers; but because in the court of fair criticism and honest judgment, we do not see how it is possible to excuse the publishing of a part of the book's contents, nor how we could be excused,—since the book is directly brought to our attention, and is everywhere offered for sale,—from the expression of the decided opinion which we entertain. The blemishes of the book meet the reader early, and they may be found throughout. We shall not name the worst pieces; to analyze them, or to print extracts, is, of course, out of the question. They are children not "of Adam," but of Adam the flesh. There is nothing worthy, there is no nobility, even of passion in this father of a race; there is only the animalism of the male. One or two of the pieces—indeed, there may be more; the reading of one or two is quite enough—are simply and essentially physiological. They are not in the ordinary form of a treatise upon that branch of science, it is true, but for completeness of statement they go nearly to its degree of precision, length and fullness. This is not poetry. It is not art. It is

not literature. It has none of the apologies of the passionate in literature, which may—and may not—sufficiently defend all the long list of writers in the list “from Anacreon to Swinburne.” We agree to tolerate the nude figure in painting and sculpture, but it has always been demanded, even since the chambers and baths of Pompeii have been uncovered, that it shall have the attitude and the expression of the purity that needs no clothing; and we have certainly never consented, and never shall, that the nude in art shall be used for the illustration of physiological science.

To refuse to expurgate his book is a serious error of judgment in Mr. Whitman, because there are too many thoughts in it that are worthy to be kept clean, and to be thus offered to the world's reading. It serves no possible good purpose to besmirch them and bring all he has written under just condemnation. Good sense joins good taste in pointing out that there are some pieces which are unfit for print, introduced amongst many that are fit. These latter are welcome, as to their simplicity, their individuality, their courage, their naturalness, their truthfulness, and we are not inclined to stand contending, as to them, for strict forms of poetic expression; but the others, placed with them, are such as compel us to speak, first as the utter impropriety of printing such a book, unedited and unexpurgated. It is not every thought that should be spoken; it is not every cry of the soul that should be set loose; not every line of the poet that should be printed. Walt Whitman's voice is less than the universal voice; the rights of the most robust egotism must have a limit.

THE PENN MONTHLY.—The issue of this Philadelphia magazine closed with the July number. It was started in 1870 by a number of young men, graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, who had a double object in view. The first was to make trial of the worth of the culture imparted by their *Alma Mater*, who at that time was much less appreciated, even locally, than at present. It is not too much to say that the magazine helped very materially to the better estimate of the University which now prevails among us.

Their second object was to elevate, if possible, the tone of periodical literature in Philadelphia, and to promote a taste for the earnest discussion of serious topics. At that date, *Lippincott's Magazine* was our only periodical of any serious literary pretension that we can now recall. The situation to-day is very different, and something of the change was due to the projectors of *The Penn Monthly*. From the first the magazine took up a more serious line of discussion than is usual in magazine literature. It made a specialty of social science. It advocated political reforms. It defended the protective policy against an aggressive criticism, and in every direction it sought to discover the principles which underlie reforms and policies; instead of taking them up at second-hand to see what smart things might be said or resaid about them. Critics called it “heavy.” So is a bullet indispensably heavy. And its managers were assured, from the most unexpected quarters, that their bullet reached its mark,—that their magazine contributed to the formation of a more thoughtful public opinion, not only in Philadelphia, but in other parts of the country. Their policy awakened opposition and gave offence, by their outspoken independence. They had no such relations to any publishing house as would tend to embarrass their course. But they found a welcome and a response from some of the best minds in the country. Mr. Longfellow asked his Philadelphia friends, with evident interest, about the managers and the writers. Mr. Lowell wrote to express his gratification at its long continuance in the work of serious discussion. Mr. Whittier found in its pages the material for his “*Pennsylvania Pilgrim*,” and expressed his high sense of its worth.

Something over a year ago, the two gentlemen chiefly interested in the publication and editing of the magazine resigned their interest to the Alumni Association of the University of Pennsylvania, as they were about to engage in another enterprise. In these new hands a somewhat different character was given to its pages, and after a year's experience, the new management have decided to abandon the publication.

It would be interesting to study the full record that has been made in American magazine publication, during the period of time covered by the *Penn Monthly's* existence. There have been many other literary monthlies that have had an earlier decline. Few that were alive in 1870, when it began, are now surviving. We recall only three—*Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, and *Lippincott's*. *Hours at Home* was discontinued, though *Scribner's* sprang in part from its root. *The Overland Monthly*, *Old and New*, the *Galaxy*, and *Sunday Afternoon*, are four others that now occur to us, as of the list that ceased issue during the period we describe. The *Penn Monthly* had a certain definite force of its own; it had been brought, in the ownership of Mr. Barker, to a point where it was very nearly self-sustaining, and its career was, by comparison with the many that were briefer, something notable in itself, and creditable to the culture of Philadelphia. It did not aim to live by being a vehicle of “light literature”; its existence, therefore, for a period of twelve years, doing earnest and solid work, deserves more than a passing paragraph, and might well call for more extended notice than that which is here bestowed.

CATHOLIC POLEMICS AND LITERATURE.—Since the appearance of Prof. Huber's “*Janus*” and Mr. Gladstone's “*Vaticanism*,” no piece of Protestant polemic has made such an impression as Dr. Littledale's “*Plain Reasons Against Joining the Church of Rome*.” Dr. Littledale has eminent qualifications for preparing such an attack as his little work embodies. He was brought up among the Orange churchmen of Ireland; he has cast in his lot with the English Ritualists. The first part of his career supplied the temper of his work; the last furnishes the necessity. He has shown what sharp things can be said against the Roman Catholic Church, by a Protestant who stands as close to that Church as a Protestant can without going over. The success of the work, as evidenced by its repeated editions, has led Father Ryder, of the Oratory, to prepare a reply (“*Catholic Controversy*.” New York: The Catholic Publication Society), in which Dr. Littledale is met and answered in detail. Dr. Ryder has not Dr. Littledale's skill as a controversialist; but, without at all pronouncing on the main points at issue, we may say that, in more than one instance, he proves misrepresentation of fact upon his Protestant antagonist. Moreover, his book has an independent value as a Roman Catholic discussion of current Protestant objections, which are to be met elsewhere than in Dr. Littledale's work.

We think it to be regretted that the unavoidable polemic between Catholicism and Protestantism is left so much to occasional productions, such as those of Drs. Littledale and Ryder. Carl Hase's “*Handbuch der Protestantischen Polemik*” is a model of the way in which the discussion ought to be handled. It already has reached its fourth edition, and in each successive edition the author has modified his statements to meet any substantial objections which his Catholic critics have taken to them in the meantime.

Of American writers Monsignor Robert Seton, of Jersey City, is recognized as one of the most polished and graceful. His “*Essays on Various Subjects, Chiefly Roman*” (Catholic Publication Society) are reprinted from *The Catholic World*, and cover a great range of topics. There are: (1) Prose and Poetry of Ancient Music; (2) Italian Commerce in the Middle Ages; (3) Scanderbeg; (4) Vittoria Colonna; (5) The Jews in Rome; (6) Early Persecutions of the Christians; (7) The First Jubilee; (8) The Charities of Rome; (9) The Apostolic Mission to Chili; (10) The Palatine Prelates of Rome; (11) The Cardinalate; (12) Papal Elections. Nearly all of these essays contain facts not generally accessible to the American reader, but the last two are much the most important, as giving a learned Roman Catholic's view of two subjects of general interest. We are surprised to see that in the fifth essay, Dr. Seton makes no reference to the remarkable book by Professor Huidekoper, of Meadville, on the same subject.

The same publication society sends us “*Lectures and Discourses*” by Bishop Spalding, of Peoria. Dr. Spalding is a more vigorous writer than Dr. Seton, and addresses himself directly to the work of maintaining the claims of his church against indifference, scientific materialism and Protestantism. Protestants generally would find nothing to offend them in the earlier lectures, and much to please them. The writer takes, indeed, too dark a view of the existing situation of the world as regards morals and religion. But he wrestles vigorously with the common enemy. His final lectures, on “*The Rise of Protestantism*” and “*The Decline of Protestantism*,” are likely to call forth little but dissent. Dr. Spalding's method is not the best for treating such topics as these. In some instances it breaks down completely. In order to trace the Protestant Reformation to civil causes, he associates it with the struggle to liberate monarchy from the trammels of feudalism, and represents the Catholic church as on the feudal side. This may do for France and England. But it is distinctly the reverse of true as regards Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and even Germany. In Scotland, the Reformation was at once a feudal and a democratic movement, resisted by the crown. In Germany, it was the final triumph of feudalism over the crown. It needs a much broader philosophy of history than this to explain the success and the limitations of Protestantism.

On page 36, Dr. Spalding reproduces from Dr. Wiseman the wretched caricature of the Baconian philosophy, to which Macaulay gave currency. “*The end of philosophy*,” says Bacon, “*is the intuition of Unity.*”

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- A FAIR PHILOSOPHER. By Henri Dagué. (No. 1. of “*The Kaaterskill Series*.”) Pp. 296. \$1.00. Geo. W. Harlan & Co., New York. (Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.)
- ASTRONOMY FOR SCHOOLS AND GENERAL READERS. By Isaac Sharpless and Geo. M. Philips. Pp. 303. \$1.25. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.
- THE DISMAL SCIENCE: A CRITICISM ON MODERN ENGLISH POLITICAL ECONOMY. By William Dillon. Pp. 236. Dublin (Ireland): M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.
- A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF IRISH HISTORY. By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Dublin (Ireland): Patrick Duffy. 1882.
- NORODOM, KING OF CAMBODIA. A ROMANCE OF THE EAST. By Frank McGloin. Pp. 327. D. Appleton & Co., New York. (Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.)
- THE MILITARY TELEGRAPH DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES; With an Exposition of Ancient and Modern Means of Communication, etc. By William R. Blum, LL.B., of the Chicago Bar. Two Volumes. Pp. 377, 390. \$5.00. James McClurg & Co., Chicago. (E. Claxton & Co., Philadelphia.)
- THE QUEER, THE QUAIN, THE QUIZZICAL: A CABINET FOR THE CURIOUS. By Frank H. Stauffer. Pp. 367. \$2.50. Robert A. Tripple, Philadelphia.

AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

ACCORDING to the *Academy* (London), the Council of the Camden Society will be able to publish, during the present year, a holograph letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, of Saffron Walden. The middle part of the book is filled with rough drafts of his poems and correspondence—mostly unpublished—with his great friend, Edmund Spenser, under the *nom de guerre* of "Immerito," about the year 1579. This portion of the book (from the many allusions to the contemporary literature and drama of the day, as well as the mention of Sir Philip Sidney, George Gascoigne, Edward Dyer, Tarleton the Jester, and many other celebrities) is extremely valuable and interesting, being, in fact, the earliest scrap-book or private note-book of an English poet and author. Unfortunately, it is just anterior to Shakespeare's time; otherwise we might have expected some curious notices of him, or, at least, of his works. The book will be edited by Mr. E. J. L. Scott, of the British Museum.

Karl Blind is to have an article giving personal recollections of Garibaldi in the forthcoming number of *Fraser's Magazine*.

Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, have just issued, in two volumes, the previously announced work, by Mr. William R. Blum, on the operations of the Telegraph service during the War of the Rebellion. This is a very interesting topic, and affords a field heretofore very little worked. Mr. Blum gives a running sketch of the general operations of the War, in order to make his own narrative more clear. The two volumes are freely illustrated, and contain portraits of those two giants in practical telegraphy, Anson Stager and General T. T. Eckert, together with many others.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York, announce the issue of an important work, to be sold only by subscription, an "Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge," to be edited by Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, with a corps of eminent associates. "The object of this Encyclopedia is to give, in alphabetical order, a summary of the most important information in all branches and topics of moral and religious knowledge,—exegetical, historical, biographical, doctrinal and practical," and Dr. Schaff says it was suggested to him by the *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, edited by Drs. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, and A. Hauck (Leipzig, 1877, sqq.). By an arrangement with the German editors and publishers, such parts of their work as are adapted to the American reading public will be translated and reproduced, but one-third of the new volume will be original.

Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., New York, have now ready the "Constitutional History and Political Developments of the United States," by Simon Sterne, of New York. They also announce for publication in October, "The United States Art Directory and Year Book," under the supervision of Mr. S. R. Kochler, a very competent editor. Mr. Kochler invites the coöperation of the officers of Art Schools, Museums, etc., etc., in order to make the work as full and trustworthy as possible.

Lieut. F. V. Greene, the historian of the late Turco-Russian war, and author of "Army Life in Russia," writes the leading article in the *Critic* of August 12th, taking as his text the official records of the Franco-Prussian and the American Civil War.

"The Kaaterskill Series" of Novels, announced by G. W. Harlan & Co., New York, is begun with the issue of "A Fair Philosopher," by Henri Daugé. It is to be followed by "A Modern Hagar," by Charles M. Clay. The series is to be issued at the uniform price of one dollar.

A London firm, Frederick Warne & Co., signify their appreciation of the English demand for our Western work by announcing "The Columbia Library," of American copyright Literature. The first volume in the series is "The Hoosier Schoolboy," by Mr. Edward Eggleston. The prices announced are a shilling, paper, and a shilling, six-pence, in cloth.

Among recent Italian books of note, the firm of Herrmann Loescher, of Turin, has published the very interesting "Memoirs of George Pallavicini," which contain the story of more than half a century, that is, from 1786 to 1848. These memoirs, written by Pallavicini himself, and now collected and published under the supervision of his wife, describe with terrible vividness the bloody *five days of Milan*, and bear the impression of the author's chivalrous and generous character. Pallavicini relates his travels in Europe, and describes his sufferings during fourteen years in the prisons of Spielberg and Gradsca, and the cruelties and perfidy of the Austrians of those days, in a simple and unvindictive manner, which only renders the story more impressive.

R. Worthington, New York, will issue an edition of Mr. Swinburne's new volume of poems, "Tristan of Lyonesse."

Henry Holt & Co., issue in the "Leisure Hour Series," G. H. Hollister's American novel, "Kinley Hollow," which gives some characteristic pictures of life in New England.

Lieutenant Danenhower's "Narrative of the Jeanette Expedition," revised and augmented from the original newspaper reports, with chart and other illustrations, is in the press of J. R. Osgood & Co.

Mrs. Ellen W. O. Kirk (better known in literature as Ellen W. Olney), the wife of the historian and editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, is spoken of as the author of the "Round Robin" novel, entitled "A Lesson in Love."

Miss Constance Fenimore Woolson has been at Baden Baden, where she was engaged in completing a new novel.

ART NOTES.

THE Ladies' Decorative Art Club of Philadelphia intend entering upon their work in the new season with continued energy and increased facilities. They have taken a house (at 1512 Pine street), which they will occupy after October 1st, their

term of instruction opening on October 15th. The number of associates in the Club is in process of increase to two hundred, and their new house will be fitted up for the use of classes, a library, salesroom, etc. The Club has for its president Mr. Le-land, who is bestowing much zeal and attention upon his plan of teaching industrial art in connection with the public school courses of study. Under his direction, Mr. J. Liberty Tadd is instructor, with others.

The Fine Arts Society, of London, are preparing for publication a fine *edition de luxe*, by Mr. Frederick Wedmore, of "Four Masters of Etching." Each copy will contain four original etchings (besides other illustrations), the artists represented being Seymour Haden, Whistler, Legros, and Jules Jacquemart, these being, except Meryon, concerning whom Mr. Wedmore has heretofore written, the best modern masters, in his judgment.

Mr. Ruskin has been exerting himself to enlarge, and place upon a more permanent foundation, his "St. George's Museum," in Sheffield. It now occupies a house much too small for the collection—all of which is Mr. Ruskin's property—and he has offered to the town corporation and people, that, if a larger and more suitable building can be erected by subscription, he will put the museum on a legal basis, to secure its permanence to the town. He intends, in that event, to devote much of his time to making the collection "the most perfect of its kind in the world."

The tomb of Michelet, unveiled in Paris on July 14th, is thus described: It is somewhat theatrical, but pretty, and certainly very interesting. Madame Michelet appears above the reclining effigy of her dead husband, and springing heavenwards. She personifies the Genius of History, and is draped and dressed in a fashion half classic and half conventual. The headgear indicates widowhood, and is in the style of that of the eldest of the three Maries in Rubens's "Entombment." Madame Michelet is from Nîmes, and has the regular and energetic contour which one so frequently sees in the market-place there. One of her arms is held aloft in a graceful attitude, and on an inclined plane. The index finger has just traced the words, "L'Histoire est une Résurrection." The drapery around the head, which is turned round to look back, has the light effect of the now fashionable woollen stuff called *voile de religieuse*. It descends slantingly from the right ear, and carries the eye down to the falling left hand, in which a scroll is held. Michelet is shrouded in a winding-sheet. But the upper part of the chest is bare, and the hand next the heart lies upon that organ. The other arm is languidly extended. Although the prose-poet and historian is lying dead, his spirit has not utterly fled away. The head rests upon a low pillow, and is slightly turned towards the spectator. In the pinched nostrils and the heavily closed lids death is shown, but a smile yet plays around the lips. There is still majesty in the forehead. The story of the man's career is told in the lines of his face. There was something in Michelet which at once transmuted sensation into sentiment, and pushed sensibility to the extreme point at which it becomes divination. He was a persevering toiler, affectionate to his few relations, and quick to sympathize with every form of distress or every harmless joy. . . . On the sarcophagus supporting the monumental figures there are two poppy-bordered medallions. The profile of Madame Michelet is hereafter to fill in one of them. Between the medallions are the words, "Que Dieu reçoive mon âme, reconnaissante de tant de bien, de tant d'années laborieuses, de tant d'amitiés." This prayer is copied from his will, written at the close of his life. On a pilaster to the right of the monument are written the names of the French cities and towns, and on a second one, to the left, of the nations, which subscribed to the fund for the erection of the monument. Birds, shells and plant leaves are worked into a decorative frieze. At the foot of the tomb stand two marble vases, which Madame Michelet has arranged are to be kept perpetually filled with flowers.

NEWS SUMMARY.

—General Gouverneur K. Warren, of the U. S. Engineer Corps, died at Newport, R. I., on Tuesday. He was born at Cold Spring, N. Y., in 1830, graduated at West Point, in 1850, and served with distinction during the war. His death was due, however, in part at least, to his disappointment at the result of the court of inquiry into the circumstances attending his suspension from the command of the Fifth Corps, by General Sheridan, at the battle of Five Forks, in March, 1864.

—The Democratic State Convention of New York will meet at Syracuse on September 21st.

—The State election of Alabama took place on Monday. There was substantially no opposition to the Democratic State ticket, and both branches of the Legislature are almost unanimously Democratic.

—The annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League was held at Newport, R. I., on the 2d inst., and after an executive session, an important address was delivered by George William Curtis.

—The Yellow fever continues in the cities and towns on the lower Rio Grande, chiefly at Matamoras and Brownsville, but though there are many cases, the death list is not large, and the disease is declared to be of a mild type.

—Two Republican State Conventions have been held in Georgia, and full lists of nominations made for State officers. The Ohio Prohibitionists, in a convention on the 3d inst., nominated a full State ticket.

—The number of passengers arrived at the various ports of the United States during the month of June last was 90,971, of whom 84,786 were immigrants, 3,613 citizens of the United States returned from abroad, and 2,572 aliens not intending to remain in this country. The number of immigrants for the month of June, 1881, was 95,535. The total number of immigrants arrived during the year was 789,003, being 119,572 more than during the previous fiscal year, and a much larger number than during any previous year in the history of the country.

—The steamer Gold Dust burst her boiler and burned to the water's edge and sank, near Hickman, Kentucky, on Monday night. The loss of life was serious. There were 106 persons on board, of whom about 14 are reported dead, 17 missing and 12 or more injured, some of them probably beyond recovery.

—Congress adjourned finally on Tuesday. Among the confirmations by the Senate in the closing hours of the session were the following: General U. S. Grant and William H. Trescott to be Commissioners to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico; Colonel Charles H. Crane, Surgeon General of the Army; W. H. Hoover, of California, Associate Justice for Arizona; W. Lowber Welsh, of Pennsylvania, Consul at Florence; Henry Pease of Massachusetts, Consul at the Cape Verde Islands; F. W. Rice, of Maine, Consul at Aspinwall; Thomas J. Barry, Consul at San Luis Potosi, and John A. Luby, Surveyor of the Port of Albany, New York.

—Dwight Reed, at present Secretary of Legation at Madrid, will be made Chief of the Consular Bureau of the State Department, in place of Mr. Adey, recently appointed Third Assistant Secretary of State.

—The National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania, three brigades, numbering about 9,000 men, have been in camp at Lewistown, on the Juniata river, for their annual drill and inspection, during the week now closing.

—Secretary Chandler, of the Navy Department, starts on a tour of inspection of the Navy Yards, next week. Secretary Teller, of the Interior Department, has gone West, to be absent three weeks.

—Extensive forgeries, by Charles M. Hilgert, of Philadelphia, a sugar refiner, trading as John Hilgert's Sons, have come to light, and he has absconded. The amount of the forgeries reaches several hundred thousand dollars, and involves parties in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and elsewhere, while disputes as to the ownership of property left behind by Hilgert, on which different parties had made advances, will cause extended litigation.

—The steamer City of Sydney arrived on Tuesday at San Francisco, but was not allowed to dock until her Chinese crew were removed to the hulk, they not being provided with return certificates, as required by the new law. It is said the Steamship Company will make a test case by suing out a writ of habeas corpus in the U. S. Court.

—The steamship Mosel of the North German Lloyds line, bound from Bremen to New York, was wrecked on Wednesday, on the English coast, near Lizard Point, and will be a total loss. Her passengers were all safely gotten off.

—The State election of Kentucky, on Monday, resulted in the choice of Captain Thomas Henry, of Paris County, Democratic candidate, for Clerk of the Court of Appeals. The opposing candidate was Col. R. Jacob, of Marion, an ex-Union soldier, a Democrat also, who received most of the Republican vote, and part of the Democratic.

—The August election in Tennessee was held on Thursday of last week. It was for local officers only. There was much independent voting.

DRIFT.

—Another new theatre is about to be built in London. The theatrical writer of the *Daily News* says that Mr. Charles Wyndham will not return to the Criterion at the close of his engagements in the United States, as he will by that time have a new theatre of his own in London. The site already acquired is close to the Grand Hotel, in Northumberland Avenue. Mr. Wyndham will have no more waits between acts. A drop of the curtain for form's sake is all that he will allow. This object will be attained by a movable stage, or rather two movable stages, on an improved principle, so that a set scene for Act 2 can be prepared while Act 1 is in progress, and the stages made to exchange places when required by a simple mechanical arrangement.

—The Chicago *Railway Age* reports 969 miles of new railway laid in the United States during July, making the total construction for the seven months of the year that have passed 5,959 miles. Last year at this time, barely 3,000 miles was reported. The total railway mileage of the country is now 110,770 miles, and it assumes that the total construction of new roads this year will be 10,000 miles, against 9,358 miles last year. The difficulty of getting money is, however, curtailing the ability of some of the roads to extend their lines. In the record for July, Texas leads, with 129 miles on five roads, followed by Ohio, with 89 miles on five lines, and by New York, with 84½ miles on nine lines. New England, which had no construction to report during the first six months, is still silent, with the exception of a branch of 2½ miles in Massachusetts.

—The article reviewing the action of Parliament, in the *Fall Mall Gazette*, of July 21, says, *inter alia*: "The truth is—and it is well it should be fully acknowledged and seriously considered,—the Liberal party is just now suffering from the constitutional defects of an exceptionally large majority, complicated by the enervating effects of life in London. If the political horizon were bounded by the four walls of Westminster, by the area of the club premises, or by the space of the dinner-tables and the drawing-rooms where men and women meet, Liberalism would be in an exceedingly bad way. London society is Conservative of the straitest sect. Its whole political creed is summed up in strong personal dislike for Mr. Gladstone. To hear the Premier spoken of, at eighteen out of twenty houses where they 'entertain' in London, suggests to the listener otherwise uninformed, that Mr. Gladstone had done some personal injury to host or guest. Members newly elected to Parliament not unnaturally take advantage of their opportunities of introduction to London society. They hear this malicious stuff night after night, and cannot fail to be impressed, even if they are not contaminated by it. What the House of Commons wants just now is a wholesome breath of country air, and it is some consolation to think that this is near at hand. Apart from all other consideration, the Government have taken a wise step in postponing the consideration of the Procedure Rules till after October. Members will come back to their work fresh from contact with the robust Liberalism of the provinces. They will have an opportunity of learning, during the recess, that the chatter of drawing-rooms, the malice of the clubs, and the gossip of the smoke-room of the House of Commons, of which Sir Henry Wolff this afternoon made himself the exponent, reflect the opinion of the people of England just as faithfully now as they did little more than two years ago when Lord Beaconsfield with a light heart asked the country to renew his lease of power."

—Thus far the St. Gothard Railway has not yielded a very promising revenue, though it is too soon yet to treat it as a financial failure. For the month of June the receipts were £24,000, and, assuming that "the line is worked for 60 per cent. of the receipts, the net income would thus be only £9,600," which is only a third of the amount required for interest upon its bonded debt. In actual fact, the expenses are probably greater than 60 per cent., for the line is extremely expensive and difficult to work."

—The British Museum has lately received from the neighborhood of Babylon three beautiful boundary stones covered all over with inscriptions, hieroglyphs (those generally considered as zodiacal signs), and very nice human figures. The first stone bears the name of Meli-sikhu, King of Babylon (whose name is contained in the list of kings discovered by Mr. T. G. Pinches), who ruled about 1175 B.C. The second is dated in

the fifth year of Nabu-kain-abli, King of Babylon, whose name has not yet been found either in the cuneiform documents or in the classics, but by the style of writing his reign ought to be placed at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. On this stone are the image of the king and that of Ziria, to whom the estate was granted. The third stone is more interesting; it has been engraved with great care, and one side is entirely covered with the so-called zodiacal signs. We understand this care when we learn from the inscription that the stone was set up by order of Nebuchadnezzar as a memorial of the taking back of a piece of land from the Elamites and its restoration to the country of Akkad. The document, however, contains no date.

COMMUNICATION.

DO WE NEED A SENATE?

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

I DESIRE to call attention to what appears to me to be a radical inconsistency in our Constitution. If you ask any school-boy what is our form of government, he will answer, a government of the people, through their representatives. Is the government purely representative? It is. Are the people equally represented? They are? When you are of age do you expect equal voice, rights, and privileges with other citizens? I do. These are at least the prevailing ideas in regard to our system of government. Let us inquire into their truth or error:

Nineteen States of the Union have a population of less than ten millions; the other nineteen have nearly forty millions. The first nineteen have thirty-eight representatives in the United States Senate; the second nineteen have no more. Four States, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, contain nearly one-third of the whole population of the country, but their share in its legislative functions is practically limited to less than one-ninth, since no bill can become a law without the approval of the Senate. In the lower house of Congress the representation is equal; in the Senate, Delaware with 146,000 people has as many votes as has New York with five millions.

Apart from its injustice, the best that can be said of this is that it is a mongrel system. It involves a contradiction. Either each State or each individual is entitled to equal suffrage; and if one principle is right, the other is wrong. Now, with those who teach that the States of the Union are on a basis of equality in the conduct, not of their own, but of national affairs, I can have no debate. To them (if, indeed, such there be) I can only say: Under the old regime the States were confederate, under the Constitution they are *united*, that is to say *unified*. Our House of Representatives can have no place in your Government, since in it the States are unequally represented. You deny the equality of the individual, since you esteem one million of people in one State equal with four millions in another. Finally, your doctrines are not those of the Constitution, nor of its leading framers. Although forced into an implied contradiction of its own words by granting to the States equal powers in the Senate, yet in its preamble the Constitution declares, in express terms, that "we the people"—not we the States—"do ordain and establish this Constitution." That the inconsistency referred to was repugnant to the chief movers in the establishment of the Constitution, and was only incorporated into it because its adoption could be secured in no other way, I will hereafter mention. We will, therefore, proceed upon the supposition that *equal representation of the people* is the only principle consistent with a popular form of government. Now, it is evident from the last census, that a measure advocated by Senators representing thirty-five millions of people may be defeated by Senators representing something less than fifteen millions. That so extreme a case is likely to occur, we are far from asserting; that it is possible, is beyond denial; that, as a point of fact, the division of the vote in the Senate rarely approximates to the true ratio of citizens represented, no one can doubt. Moreover, it may be remarked that it should be the duty of the Constitution to guard, not only against probable wrong, but also against possible injustice as well.

It requires no Socratic wisdom to discover that under this system the smaller States are granted a share in the Government ridiculously disproportionate to their importance. Five States in the Union, namely, Delaware, Nebraska [Under the new apportionment, Nebraska will have 3 members.—ED. AMERICAN], Nevada, Oregon, and Colorado, are at present only entitled to the one Congressman allowed by the grace of the Constitution; yet each adds its two members to that eminently select and conservative body, the Senate. Nevada, which, even on the showing of the latest census, has only about half enough population for a Congressional district, is placed on an equal footing with Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Illinois. New York has about thirty-five times as many people as Delaware; nevertheless, our model system of representation graciously permits the thirty-five to legislate on a basis of perfect equality with the one!

An indirect result of this injustice is the misrepresentation of the popular will in the Presidential elections. For instance, Oregon, with one-seventeenth the population of Illinois, casts one-seventh as many electoral ballots, and cases of greater discrepancy could easily be cited. It has previously been said that if one system of choosing delegates to Congress is right, the other is of necessity wrong. The manifest inconsistency involved is the result of a compromise; and compromises are seldom made except at a sacrifice of principle. The Articles of Confederation provided for a government whose weakness could only excite contempt. Congress had no power to declare war, make treaties, coin or borrow money, levy taxes, or even appoint a commander-in-chief of the army, without the consent of nine States. The utmost that could be claimed for the Government was the title of a friendly compact, as is evident from the third Article of Confederation, which declares that "The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare." The three wise men who went to sea in a bowl had the wisdom of Moses, Solon, and Lycurgus, as compared with those who would embark on the tempest-tossed ocean of national independence in so crazy a Ship of State. In the one House of the Congress of the Confederation, each State had one vote; but the plan brought before the Convention which framed our present Constitution, by Mr. Randolph, and supposed to have been drafted by Madison, who had been chiefly instrumental in the movement towards reforming the Government, designed that "the right of suffrage in the national legislature" should be proportioned "to the number of free inhabitants." This system of representation was also

advocated by Hamilton and other prime movers in the Convention. The smaller States, however, were loth to relinquish their equality, and the slave-holding States demanded representation for their "chattels." To conciliate these factions, two concessions were made. The first of these provisos was that three-fifths of the slave population should be counted in the representation. This outrage, to which the North submitted under protest, had its application in the House of Representatives; but it was obliterated with slavery, leaving that body, as nearly as possible, the true exponent of the popular voice. The second concession, equally unjust with the first, was that in the Senate the States should be equally represented. It was a compromise evoked by the exigencies of the time, founded on petty jealousies, discords not between sections, but among individual States. Hence all occasion for the further perpetuation of this mongrel element in our politics has long since passed away.

Apart from the injustice of its representation, it is not denied that the Senate may be in some respects a very useful body. Taking the place occupied in the English Government by the House of Lords, the correspondence of the two is perhaps more in appearance than in substance. By the longer tenure of office and assumed greater experience of its members, it was expected to act as a conservative power, a check both upon the Lower House and the Executive. The power of the President, however, is limited by the Constitution and by the short tenure of his office. Moreover, it is questionable whether the Senate, whose members hold office for only six years and are almost directly dependent upon the people for their election, can exert a much greater conservative power than could be vested in the House of Representatives.

Again, our Government comprises three departments, the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. The Constitution aims to keep these three separate and independent. The wisdom of this is admitted by all statesmen; yet the Senate combines in part the offices of all three. Ostensibly a legislative body, it shares with the Executive the power to make treaties and appoint the great majority of the officers of the Government, and has besides the judicial function of sitting as a Court of Impeachment.

If the Senate is intended as an Advisory Council to the President, it should have no legislative powers. If its office is legislative, there arises the question of the necessity of two enactive bodies. No conservative institution, not even the highest, the Constitution itself, can take the place of popular integrity. The artificial safeguards of a republican government are valuable only for temporary crises, and a general decline in public morals or intelligence must inevitably be followed by a despotism, because the right to govern is dependent upon the fitness to govern.

Perhaps I can best sum up by saying that, in the investigation of this subject, I have been led to two doubts, and to two convictions. The doubts are:

First, whether the National House of Representatives is not fully competent to legislate for the people; and

Second, whether as a conservative power in the government, the Senate is either necessary or efficient. The convictions are:

First, that the confusion of separate functions in the Senate is contrary to the general purpose of the Constitution and unwarranted by reason; and

Second, that the present system of representation in the Senate is a gross infringement upon the right of equal suffrage.

Galesburg, Illinois.

J. W. CARNEY.

FINANCIAL AND TRADE REVIEW.

THURSDAY, August 10.

A DISPOSITION of stocks to sag off was punctually followed, once or twice during the week, by a decided movement of recovery, and prices are well sustained on the general list. The certainty that the wheat crop is very large, is now supplemented by the expectation of a good yield of corn, and it is evident that there must be a heavy business for all who are in any way connected with the sale or transportation of these great products and their consequents. On the whole, the disposition is to look upon the situation hopefully, and the easy money market is favorable to moderate speculation, for the present. The argument generally is that the United States must stand in a most advantageous position, if the conflict between England and the Egyptians enlarges, and that, in any event, the war has already made certain that the cotton and wheat contingent of Egypt will not compete with ours, this year, in the markets of Eastern Europe. But under all a feeling of caution is notable, and there are good reasons for maintaining it.

The following were the quotations, (sales,) of leading stocks, in the Philadelphia market, yesterday: Philadelphia and Reading (buyer 3 days), 30 $\frac{3}{4}$; Pennsylvania Railroad, (buyer 3 days), 62 $\frac{3}{8}$; Northern Pacific, common, 51 $\frac{1}{2}$; ditto, preferred, (buyer 3 days), 91; Buffalo, Pittsburg and Western Railroad, 20 $\frac{3}{8}$; Lehigh Navigation, 43 $\frac{1}{2}$; Lehigh Valley Railroad, 63. The market at the close was quoted "strong."

The closing quotations of principal stocks in the New York market, yesterday, were as follows:

Chicago and Northwestern, common, 143 $\frac{3}{4}$; Chicago and Northwestern, preferred, 165; Canada Southern, 64 $\frac{3}{8}$; Central Pacific, 95 $\frac{1}{4}$; Colorado Coal, 47 $\frac{3}{8}$; Columbus, C. and I. C., 14 $\frac{1}{8}$; Delaware and Hudson, 116 $\frac{3}{4}$; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, 142 $\frac{3}{4}$; Denver and Rio Grande, 62 $\frac{3}{8}$; Erie and Western, 41; East Tennessee, common, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$; East Tennessee, preferred, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$; Hannibal and St. Joseph, common, 85; Hannibal and St. Joseph, preferred, 95 $\frac{3}{8}$; Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western, 47; Kansas and Texas, 41 $\frac{1}{4}$; Lake Shore and M. Southern, 116 $\frac{1}{4}$; Louisville and Nashville, 74 $\frac{3}{4}$; Michigan Central, 100 $\frac{1}{4}$; M. & St. Paul, 124 $\frac{3}{8}$; Milwaukee and St. Paul, preferred, 137; Mobile and Ohio, 22 $\frac{3}{8}$; Manhattan Railway, 53 $\frac{1}{2}$; Metropolitan Elevated Railway, 83 $\frac{3}{8}$; Missouri Pacific, 107 $\frac{3}{4}$; Milwaukee and Lake Shore, 57 $\frac{1}{8}$; Memphis and Charleston, 59; New York Central, 137 $\frac{1}{2}$; New York, Lake Erie and Western, 40 $\frac{3}{8}$; Norfolk and Western, preferred, 56 $\frac{1}{2}$; New York, Ontario and Western, 27 $\frac{3}{8}$; New Jersey Central, 80 $\frac{3}{4}$; Nashville and Chattanooga, 64; Ohio and Mississippi, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$; Ohio Central, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$; Pacific Mail, 47; Peoria, Decatur and Ev., 37 $\frac{3}{8}$; Rochester and Pittsburg, 27 $\frac{3}{8}$; Richmond and Danville, 121; St. Paul and Omaha, 52 $\frac{1}{4}$; St. Paul and Omaha, preferred, 110 $\frac{3}{4}$; Texas Pacific, 52 $\frac{3}{4}$; Union Pacific, 118 $\frac{3}{8}$; Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific, 38 $\frac{1}{4}$; Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific, preferred, 68; Western Union, 90 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The following were the closing quotations of United States securities in the New York market yesterday:

	Bid.	Asked.
United States 6s, 1881, con., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{4}$	101 $\frac{3}{4}$
United States 5s, 1881, con., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	101	101 $\frac{1}{4}$
United States 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1891, registered,	113 $\frac{1}{2}$	113 $\frac{3}{4}$
United States 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1891, coupon,	114 $\frac{3}{8}$	114 $\frac{1}{2}$
United States 4s, 1907, registered,	120	120 $\frac{1}{4}$
United States 4s, 1907, coupon,	120	120 $\frac{1}{4}$
United States currency 6s, 1895,	130	
United States currency 6s, 1896,	131	
United States currency 6s, 1897,	132	
United States currency 6s, 1898,	133	
United States currency 6s, 1899,	134	

The Philadelphia banks, in their statement for August 5th, reported their reserves substantially unchanged. The principal items in the statement were:

	July 29.	August 5.	Differences.
Loans,	\$76,094,612	77,099,834	Inc. \$1,004,922
Reserve,	\$20,699,798	20,701,303	Inc. 1,505
Deposits,	55,738,342	55,507,628	Dec. 230,714
Circulation,	9,862,650	9,842,360	Dec. 20,290
Clearings,	48,348,235	50,758,881	Inc. 2,410,646
Balances,	6,286,051	8,078,121	Inc. 1,792,070

The export of specie from New York, last week, amounted to \$1,589,025, of which \$1,254,000 was sent via Liverpool to Genoa, being a part of the Italian contract. The whole of the remainder was in silver, of which all but \$1,000 went to Liverpool, London and Paris. This made one of the largest silver exports recently reported in any one week—\$335,025.

The statement of the New York banks for Saturday last showed that the movement of steady reduction in the reserve which had been notable for some time was still in progress, the loss for the week being \$2,696,600. They still had \$2,684,425, however, in excess of legal requirements, and the report was made "on rising averages," indicating a better condition than that stated by the figures. The principal items in their statement were as follows:

	July 29.	August 5.	Differences.
Loans,	\$332,610,300	\$335,324,600	Inc. \$2,714,300
Specie,	60,610,500	58,660,500	Dec. 1,950,000
Legal tenders,	24,687,800	24,044,900	Dec. 642,900
Deposits,	319,669,100	320,083,900	Inc. 414,800
Circulation,	18,191,700	18,259,900	Inc. 68,200

The *Engineering and Mining Journal* says that, like Leadville, which in the first six months of this year produced 22,000 tons of lead bullion, Utah is making more lead than ever. According to the returns received, this territory made 14,381 tons, which is at the rate of 28,762 tons for 1882, against 21,565 tons last year. With the Eureka District shipping, though not smelting, as much lead as before, and no abatement in Missouri, and growing quantities from miscellaneous sources, it looks as though this year's output would be enormous, and place the United States at the head of all lead-producing countries.

The new bonds of the State of Tennessee (compromised at 60 per cent. of the principal, with progressive interest at 3, 4, 5, and 6 per cent.) are now listed on the New York Stock Exchange. The total issue is not to exceed \$16,750,000. Governor Hawkins (Tennessee) is quoted as saying that he believes that one-third of the debt, or say \$10,000,000, will have been funded before the November election, as over \$5,000,000 has been funded already, and that the entire debt will have been funded before the new year, the time prescribed by law, should the election be favorable to the anti-repudiationists.

The twenty-five savings banks in New York City are said to have \$35,100,380 net surplus and 566,163 depositors, or about half the population of the city.

It is reported from Washington that applications for the exchange of extended bonds into three per cents are not coming in at Washington as fast as was expected, but they are sufficiently numerous to keep a large force of clerks constantly engaged upon them. The 20th instant was the time set for making the awards of numbers according to priority, but as that date falls on Sunday, the awards will not be made till the following day.

The general strike at Pittsburg has caused enormous shipments of iron to be made to that centre in the last few weeks to supply the manufacturing demand which is ordinarily met by producers there, and which lived for a while on accumulated stock.

The exports of domestic produce from New York for the week ending on Tuesday, August 8th, were \$8,472,071, the largest total for any one week this year. The increase resulted chiefly from more active shipment of wheat, provisions and petroleum. During the same week last year the exports were valued at \$8,362,928, and since January 1st, they aggregate \$196,316,349, against \$229,373,137 for the corresponding period of 1881.

It is now announced absolutely that at last the Italian loan operation has been closed out, and there will be no more American gold coin or bullion shipped on this account. The shipment of last week concluded the order.

From October 1, 1881, to August 1, 1882, there were sold in Petersburg, Virginia, 4,118,640 pounds of loose tobacco, at an average price of \$6 per hundredweight. The sales this year have been much heavier than last.

The assessed valuation of the city of Boston this year is \$672,490,100, an increase of \$6,935,500 since last year. The tax rate is advanced to \$15.10 per \$1000.

The expenditures of the Dominion Government for July exceeded the revenue \$133,000.

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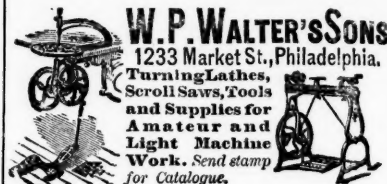
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